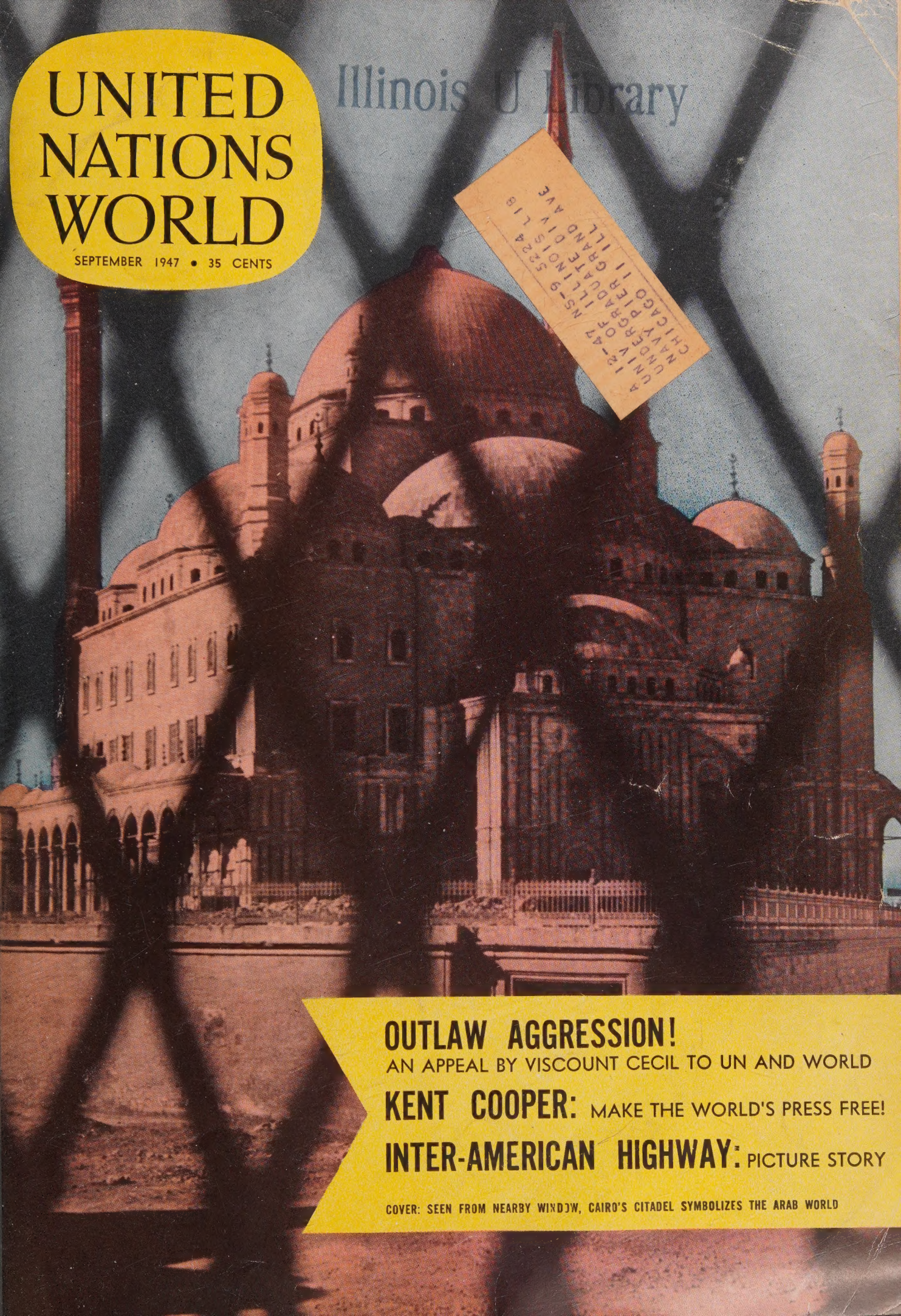

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SEPTEMBER 1947 • 35 CENTS

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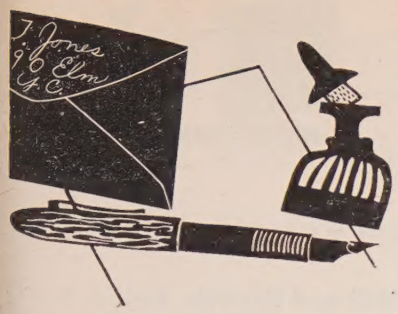

LETTERS

Get Going, UNW

It seems to me that the article "International Crisis and UN" in the June issue of *UNW* is the answer to your appeal to subscribers.

Concentrate on pounding the United Nations into action. They were formed for the purpose of making peace, and it is their duty, by proper exposure, to swing into action all those nations who are holding back their support. Pep up your magazine by forceful writers, lay the cards on the table. Your past writers are too classical. Get some color into your magazine, and bring about peace by forcing—through publicity—action by the UN.

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN
BATTLESHIP ROOFING PRODUCTS
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WOODSIDE, L. I., N. Y.

A Crack at UN

I've been quite enthusiastic for UN and have accumulated quite a library dealing with it. *But,* it seems to me it's about time someone important had the courage to come out and say plainly that as regards keeping the peace of the world the UN is a delusion and a snare. It cannot even keep the peace between small nations if one of them happens to be a *protégé* of U.S.S.R.

HERBERT LEE
SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

One Language

From the earliest times men have been using various languages, which today number in the hundreds. It seems to me that it would improve world stability and promote peace if we should all be able to speak one language.

Once a common language is agreed upon, the next steps would be relatively simple, with modern facilities now available and especially with the help of UNESCO. If a radio were installed in every classroom, from grammar schools to colleges and universities (most homes already have them), a one-hour daily lesson could be broadcast, available to all.

A universal language is a necessity—a medium through which a more understanding, tolerant, and therefore peaceful world will be created.

KOSTO UNKOVICH
YUGOSLAV CONSUL IN PITTSBURGH

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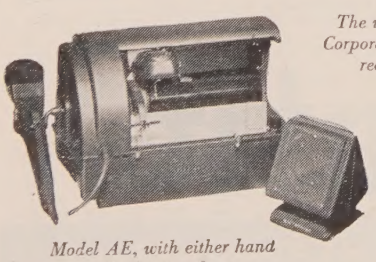

Model AE, with either hand or desk microphone.

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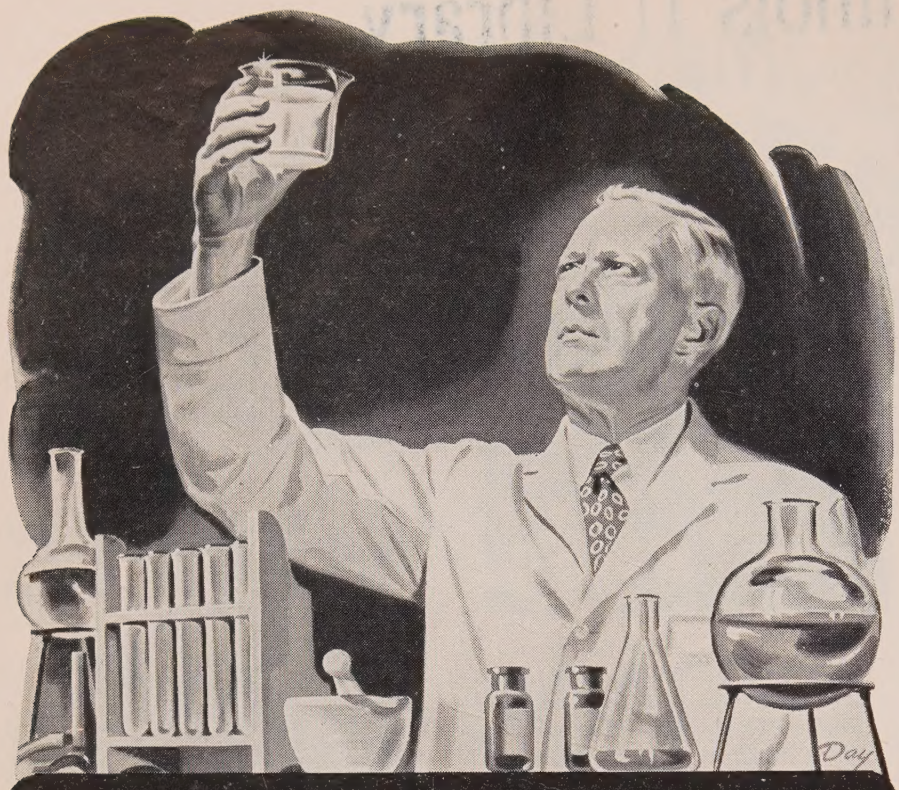

Better take another look at your "liquid assets"!

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WATER CONDITIONING HEADQUARTERS

LETTERS *continued*

Bahia and Espirito Santo

I believe that it will be of interest your readers to correct a geographical err in your World Map showing uranium a thorium deposits which you published your June issue and, subsequently, in a r print of the map.

The map of Brazil shows thorium depo its in Bahia and Espirito Santo, but t location of those two states is reversed same.

E. H. GROTEFEN
WESTFIELD, N.

"Undistorted"

Your magazine . . . has been, so far, t only unbiased magazine I have come acro on this continent . . . I may approve of t policies of other magazines more, but still shall think that your magazine is t only one which gives unbiased, undistort news.

AJAI K. MITR
INDIA

Anger

Needless to say I have a deep feeling anxiety for the years ahead. I am *ang* about the way our own government is b passing the UN, bolstering black reacti all over the world, about the way our co mentators and press are whipping up b blood between nations, about the way fa ism is ignored or encouraged, about t motley crowd scattered all over the wor who want another war now.

A. C. SEVERSON
MERCED, CALIFORNI

An Aid in U. S. History

The *UNW* is a godsend to me in tea ing United States history to my studen patients at the Birmingham Veterans' H pital. World affairs are a personal m ter to them, disabled as they were by w They appreciate receiving reliable inf mation such as yours.

ELLEN MACKENZIE HODS
VAN NUYS, CALIFORNIA

Understandable Internationalis

I should like to present to you my c gratulations on a very necessary and w planned publication. I have felt for a l time that somebody must come along take internationalism out of the lear journals and put it into terms that wo be more interesting, more appealing more understandable, and *UNW* at las doing it.

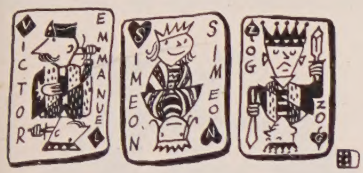
S. RALPH COHEN
MONTREAL, CAN

LIFE IN OUR WORLD

AN AMAZING COLLECTION OF ODDS AND ENDS HAVING TO DO WITH THE LIFE AND TIMES OF HUMANITY IN THE ATOMIC AGE

Ex-Kingdom

Egypt now harbors three European ex-Kings — 77-year-old Victor Emmanuel of Italy, who as Count Pollenzo lives in retirement, indulging



in his favorite sports of fishing, shooting and cycling; 57-year-old Zog of Albania, who is writing his memoirs; and nine-year-old Simeon of Bulgaria, a student at the preparatory school of Victoria College, in Alexandria.

Balance of Power

Maoris whose ancestors sold the New Zealand Government 7,000 acres of kauri forest land in North Auckland at eight pence (10c.) an acre are petitioning the Government for an extra payment—and since the balance of power in the New Zealand Legislature is held by its four Maori members, the petition may get a hearing.

A Pied Piper for Manila?

Postwar Manila, still struggling with its ruins, is in dire need of a Pied Piper—some statistician has estimated that its rats outnumber its people three to one. The Manila health department not only has an

energetic corps of rat-catchers but keeps urging each citizen to do his share by capturing a rat "at least once a day."

Gen. Smuts—African

Rule 8 of *UNW's* Twelve Editorial Commandments says: "Avoid the word 'natives' as it has been shaped by imperial custom." The same idea seems to be catching on in South Africa. In the House of Assembly, General Smuts referred to the Negroes as "Africans." Cried one member: "Why don't you call them 'natives'? That's their name." . . . "Have you fallen for Communist propaganda?", shouted another. Said Gen. Smuts: "I cannot see anything wrong in calling people by the name they prefer. I am an African as well."

Singapore's "Trishaws"

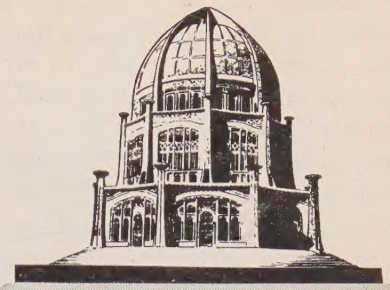
Old-style rickshaws have been outlawed by the Singapore municipality and will be confiscated if seen on the city streets. Instead the "trishaw,"

a sort of bicycle-propelled side-car, has been growing in popularity, and at least 8,000 are now in use.

British Hospitality

Children from Europe's war-devastated countries have been spending the summer months as guests of British families. The Reception Committee of the Young People from Occupied Countries, is in charge of the program which has been in operation since 1942. Fifteen thousand British families have opened their homes to these youngsters for a few months. The Committee has expanded the plan to whole communities—200 local committees have been set up to find hosts for the children and to supervise their hospitality.

Continued on page 4



BAHA'I

A WORLD FAITH

You are not obliged to entrust your hopes for peace and security to any of the competitive systems now struggling for world control.

Nor need you abandon your hopes and retreat from chaos into the moral isolation of any artificial cult.

A spiritual world order has been established, firm and secure, in the heart of this providential age. Its basis is the oneness of mankind; its power is progressive divine revelation; its aim the unfoldment of an organic society. The Baha'i teachings signalize the working of this new spiritual potency in human affairs today.

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There can be no wars when true understanding becomes a reality; therefore we must learn to understand those we now call foreigners and help them to understand us.

The Foreign Club, founded in March of 1945, has members in fifty-two countries and territories and with the help of consulates, educators and other authorities now has over 1500 members. Believing the simplest and most effective way of bringing about true international understanding is through personally acquainting peoples of all countries, The Foreign Club is dedicated solely to this purpose.

You are cordially invited to accept without charge a copy of "Introducing The Foreign Club," which may be obtained by writing to:

THE FOREIGN CLUB
LAGUNA BEACH, CALIF., U. S. A.

No Taxes

To stimulate its industrialization program, Puerto Rico is trying to attract new capital. With this in mind, Governor Jesús T. Piñero recently signed a bill exempting industries established after July 1, 1947, from income, property, and municipal taxes, as well as excise levies on machinery and raw materials.

Water from the Tundra

The city of Yakutsk, Siberia, gets its drinking water from a 1640-foot well which pumps the water up through

the 720-foot-deep frozen tundra. The well was drilled in 1946 on advice of the Soviet Institute for the Study of Eternally Frozen Soil.

News in the Clouds

Courrier de l'Air is probably the world's first airborne newspaper. It is published by Air-France for its globe-trotting patrons in English and

Spanish as well as French editions. Copies are given to travelers as they board the planes and special bulletins are distributed at every port where the ships land. Air-France promises teletypes on all its planes soon.

Immigrants' Dilemma

The first batch of Argentina's immigrants—the government aims at 5 million—arrived in Buenos Aires recently—800 of them. Complaints began to pour in immediately, some of them reaching President Perón, who promised to look into the situation. It was reported that the immigration Commission in Italy had promised jobs at $300 a month and modern dwellings. On arrival, the immigrants found they had neither.

Strictly Legal

"Boycott imported luxuries" is the new slogan of the 30-year-old Nigerian Civil Servants Union—and

"imported luxuries" include European garb. So one day a number of Nigerian government officials came to work in African attire. The "most striking" display was that of the female staff of the Post Office Savings Bank Department, according to one source. But the Attorney General said it was legal.

Camps for a Million

The Polish Ministry of Education sponsored camps this summer for 900,000 children. Special camps were set aside for youngsters threatened with tuberculosis.

Japan's Sea Lions

The sea lions in Japanese waters are safe for a time, thanks to SCAP—which has denied the Japan Marine Animal Company of Toyko a permit for dynamite to eradicate the herds, which have been attacking the com-

pany's schools of dolphins and porpoises it catches. The sea lions may be the last of their kind in the Western Pacific.

Ice Forecasting

Soviet scientists, studying the Arctic intensively for the past few decades, have founded a new branch of science—ice forecasting. Today their ice forecasts have become 70 to 80 per cent accurate and they are working on a new chart of Arctic ice drifts and currents.

Citizenship Training in Norway

"Education for Democracy" is the theme of an experimental program for Norway's public schools. The plan will be tried this fall at the Foss School in Oslo. A new course, Citizenship Training, will prepare future voters for their responsibilities. There will be no text books—current newspapers and magazines will be the required reading. Social studies classes will learn their lessons by seeing social institutions in action.

The Smuggler's Hug

Foreign air travelers will no longer be allowed to kiss or hug local friends waiting for them at Mexico City's airport, according to a decree under consideration by the Depart-

ment of Civil Areonautics. This policy is already in force in London and the Department said it might follow suit because British authorities found many people used the embrace to smuggle in goods duty-free.

Dumboy and Foo-Foo

When the U.S. State Department sent a nutrition expert to Monrovia to study Liberian diet the inhabitants got on the defensive about their "time-honored" dumboy (a kind of "mashed potatoes," made with the cassava root and served in soup) foo-foo, palava sauce, palm butter pepper soup, platto, petate greens and cassava leaf. "Even to lose dumboy, not to mention the others!" would be a calamity moaned a reporter of the *Weekly Mirror*. But the dietician, Dr. Flemmie Kittrell, head of the home economics department of Howard University, took an optimistic view: pepper soup sounded good to her, and many such foods were rich in vitamins—just how rich she intended to find out.

From Kansas to Bombay

The Government of Bombay, is cutting all drinking scenes in movies to conform with its recently adopted prohibition policy.

"It's a Long, Long Way . . ."
The Red Army choir has been criticized by the paper *Red Fleet* for singing *Tipperary* and *A Tavern in Our Town*—"migrants from the bourgeois music hall that cannot interest a Soviet audience"—and the Black Sea Fleet choir for singing *K-K-Katie*. These songs (we learn by way of Australia) are frequently heard over the Moscow radio.

Chicago Goes to Puerto Rico
With the cooperation of 100 local families, the Universities of Puerto Rico and Chicago are conducting joint nutritional studies in Dajaos, a

Puerto Rican rural community, to determine the minimum vitamin A requirement of the human body.

Any Boy's Dream
Many a small boy would find his dream come true on Russia's children's railways. They're real narrow-gauge railroads which run for several miles in Leningrad, Stalingrad, Baku and Chelyabinsk. Equipped with latest devices, the low-power locomotives are streamlined. The trains are run by children from 12 to 14 and carry adults as well as children in their Pullman-type cars. Since the Lilliputian railway system was built in 1933, it has carried millions of passengers with no accidents of any kind.

UN at Youth Camps
Five vacation camps for young people from all over the world have been built by the French Vacation Camps Associations. They were hosts to thousands of students, teachers and workers from 20 nations this summer. The camps emphasized the work of the United Nations and UNESCO; they are located in Paris, Cannes, Trouville, Biarritz and Chamonix. Cost per day: $1.60 (192 francs).

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LONDON PARIS BRUSSELS

The Boss Does the Dishes

Do dish-pan hands reduce the dignity of businessmen? Yes, says the Institute of Public Affairs in Victoria, Australia. Handicapped by a servant shortage, many top executives have had to help with the dinner dishes.

This takes time when they could be reading reports and business journals, moralized the Institute . . . and "This is not conducive to the highest degree of managerial efficiency and enterprise." But Melbourne newspapers conducted an independent survey and found business men welcomed the dish pan as a relaxation from office routine.

Looking Each Other Over

The thing to do in Nairobi (Kenya), after the day's work, is to drive a few miles out of town to the National Game Park. But getting out of the car is forbidden by a law, strictly enforced; and a notice in the local press begs sightseers not to throw stones at the lions who turn up to look and be looked at.

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UN HARDY DESPITE SETBACKS

A UNW Poll at Lake Success

The Question: What do you think of the rumors that the Unit Nations organization is on its way out and/or that Russia will withdra

The Participants: Sixty diplomats and high-ranking officials of the U

The Place: The offices, meeting rooms and corridors of the Unit Nations at Lake Success, New York.

Fifty-four of the 60 people we consulted declared that it was absolu nonsense to assume that "the United Nations is finished." They insist that no government today could take the responsibility, before its ov country or the world as a whole, of destroying the United Nations.

Twenty-eight of the 54, however, conceded that, for the time being, t UN might be by-passed on vital matters such as the Greek situation, t economic reconstruction of Europe, bi-lateral or regional defense pac

The six who refused to concede that the UN will continue in existen thought that the present organization will be superseded by a new inte national institution, without Russia and without the Eastern Europea states. Three of these six believed that some Latin American countrie supported by the United States, might launch an appeal for the establis ment of a world government.

As far as Russia's continued membership is concerned, 58 out of 6 believed that she will remain in the UN. All 60 were convinced tha under the present charter, Russia can never be expelled in a constitution way since she can always veto any such decision. Many pointed out th her participation in UN affairs lately is rather more active than less.

Encouraged by these answers, we then asked our informants wheth they were generally pessimistic or optimistic about future internation cooperation. Twenty-four stated that they were rather optimistic, that t present difficulties were to be foreseen, and that any new international o ganization is bound to encounter similar problems.

Eighteen were extremely pessimistic about the future and thought th the constant friction between the East and West will make it impossib to achieve anything constructive either in the political or economic field

Of the 18 pessimists, only six talked of an "unavoidable military co flict" between the two worlds. We asked these six, most of whom thoug that the UN would continue in business, how they could reconcile the belief in inevitable conflict with that of the continued existence of U Their answer was: "The UN will be the war aim and the rallying cry the Western powers in case of conflict."

Eighteen of our informants thought it was too soon to express any vie pessimistic or optimistic, about future peace, since so much depended the events of the next six months, particularly the Balkan conflict, t success or failure of the Marshall Plan, and the action taken by the ne General Assembly.

All delegates thought that the UN will constitute the forum in whi the various ideologies will be presented and from which their proponen will try to win a majority of world public opinion in support of their co cepts. However, they believe this very attempt in itself will strengthe rather than weaken the UN, for it will sooner or later become evident th the world cannot live without a permanent international organizatio

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UNW NEWSREEL

ECONOMIC & SOCIAL COUNCIL MEETS AT LAKE SUCCESS

A tricontinental confab. L. to r.: A. R. Tarhan, Turkey; P. Mendes-France, France; Paul Martin, Canada; and Finn Moe, Norway.

An animated exchange during a Council session. L. to r.: Willard L. Thorp, U. S.; Hector McNeill, U.K.; A. P. Morosov, U.S.S.R.

Members discuss Bill of Human Rights. L. to r.: P. C. Chang, China; Jan Papanek, Czechoslovakia; Chas. Malik, Lebanon.

Guillermo Belt, Cuba, reads document, to (l. to r.) Carlos d'Ascoli, Venezuela, H. Santa Cruz, Chile, and C. H. de Lavalla, Peru.

GETTING on SCHEDULE

Readers of *UN World* will remember that our first issue (February) appeared in the second week of that month—about three weeks behind the ideal schedule. Ever since then, the Editors have been trying to catch up—a job which has proved beyond them because of the exigencies of the world crisis and their desire to make every issue of *UN World* better than the previous one.

With this number, however, *UN World* breaks the deadlock. Readers will note that the issue is dated September and is in their hands well in advance of the first of that month. The reason is—we have omitted the August issue as such, enabling us to achieve, with the September issue, a proper schedule.

The Editors hope that readers will agree with them that this change is a beneficial one both for the readers and the Editors themselves.

PICTURE CREDITS: *Cover: Black Star; pages 3, 4, 5, 6: drawings by Kelly Oechsli; page 7: Leo Rosenthal; page 12: Keystone; page 13: Pix, Inc.; page 17: British Information Service; page 23: Acme; page 24: The China Weekly Review, Associated Press; page 25: Paul Guillumette, Inc., Associated Press; pages 26 and 27: Jean Lyon; page 28: Wide World; page 30: Black Star; pages 32 and 33: map by James Cutter; pages 34 and 35: Eisenstaedt—Pix; pages 36, 37, 38 and 39: Adrian Williams, map by James Cutter; page 41: British Information Service; pages 42, 43 and 45: Leo Rosenthal; page 51: Harris & Ewing.*

HEARD IN OUR OFFICE

FOR the opening of the UN Assembly in September, New York clubs are cooperating with *United Nations World*, and posting notices of schedules and information about the special bus tours to Lake Success, under the auspices of the magazine. The first to express practical interest were Bryn Mawr Club, Catholic Young Women's Club, Cosmopolitan Club, Engineering Woman's Club, Girls Friendly Society of the Diocese of New York, Rehearsal Club, Smith College Club, Three Arts Club, Town Hall Club, Vassar Club, Women's City Club of New York and Wellesley Club. This list is largely on the distaff side, but the men are with us too, for example 125 volunteer firemen of the Tarrytowns and the Kiwanis of Boundbrook, N. J.

600 Subscription Blanks

The Chairman of the American Legion Auxiliary, Department of Iowa, Mrs. Alfred W. Fischer, has not only taken out a subscription to *UNW* for herself. She writes us: "Could you mail me 600 subscription blanks that I might mail one to each unit president of our American Legion Auxiliary, Inc., organization? We are stressing the study of UN this year and your magazine is the best I have read on keeping the members informed on the UN."

Dartmouth's Vision

Dartmouth College's "Great Issues," a required course for seniors, to be established this fall (and already known as "G.I."), has been deservedly acclaimed. Three times a week the students will meet for the discussion of the special world issue selected for the week. Newspapers will be the textbooks. Each senior will be required to subscribe either to *The New York Times* or *The New York Herald Tribune*. In addition, a special reading room—the Public Affairs Laboratory—is being equippe for reference and meetings. *Unite Nations World* is specified as one the magazines to be used. "Gre Issues" is a step forward in the mal ing of One World.

Thank You

Recently we sent our subscribers letter on the crucial internationa situation and the need to coordinat public opinion behind the UN a over the world—the object for whic *UNW* was founded. We asked ou subscribers for the names of friend who might be interested in the pu pose of *UNW*. The response wa splendid. In less than a month mor than 4,000 names were sent in. W take this both as a friendly tribut to our editorial effort and a vita urge on the part of our subscribe to make their individual contributio to the achievement of world peace.

He Gets Around

Since his return from abroad Louis Dolivet *UNW's* Internationa Editor, has given several talks o European conditions. At the Ove seas Press Club he spoke on Europ and the world situation. He opene the 4th Annual Antioch Institute International Relations in July wit an address, "UN, Anatomy of Com munity," and participated in many the lively discussions and comme taries. At the Uptown Club in Ne York, Dolivet spoke to two separat groups of business men on politica and economic conditions in Europe and, together with Mr. Paul Com French, Executive Director of "Care he was a guest on Mary Margar McBride's popular radio progra More recently Dolivet attended, a member of the faculty, the fi Annual Estes Park Foreign Relatio Institute, sponsored by Colorad Town Meeting, Inc. Our Internatio al Editor certainly gets around.

STATE OF THE WORLD

ROUNDUP

This last month the diplomatic cene of the world shifted from Lake uccess to Paris, to Batavia, Athens, alonika, Geneva, New Delhi and ack to Lake Success. Negotiations overed everything from atomic en- rgy to border incidents, from the conomic reconstruction of Europe to he independence movements in Asia, rom a Russian veto on the Greek uestion to the Security Council's in- ervention in the Indonesian conflict —its most courageous stand since ran. Historic events took place at uch speed that it was almost impos- ible to follow them one by one and o integrate them into the global vorld picture.

• Most explosive issue on the world ront was the question of Greek bor- ler strife with its daily incidents, ac- usations and counter-accusations. Behind the Greeks were the Western owers, and behind Greece's neigh- ors the Soviets. Therein the danger ay. Yet, though guns were firing in orthern Greece, the real battle for he future of Europe was fought in he *Salle de l'Horloge* of the French oreign Office in Paris, where 16 gov- rnments were preparing for the first ime in the history of Europe an over- ll survey of their common production apacity and of their most urgent onsumption needs. There were three isturbing elements in the minds of he representatives of the 16 partici- ating governments: 1—the absence f Russia; 2—the industrial rebirth of ermany with all its political implica- ions; 3—fear about the action of the .S. Congress when it learns the to- l of the needed billions.

The immediate problem was Ger- any. Here Britain, in pursuing its cialization policy, was at sharp ariance with the U.S., especially on e Ruhr question, and France at arp variance with the U.S. and ritain on the question of boosting German industry *vis-à-vis* the danger of future aggression. The U.S., sensing a delicate situation arising in the past few months, out of too "pronounced American leadership," postponed until Sept. 1, upon France's demand, its major plans for reorganization of the Ruhr.

But the uplift in morale occasioned by the Marshall proposals was rapidly being canceled out by an acute dollar famine.

Britain Grim, Still Game

• Militarily, Britons know what it means to have their backs to the wall. Financially, Britain has her back to the wall today. The wall began to crumble and show huge gaps on July 15, 1947. Before that, the U.K. had an agreement with the Commonwealth by which she was able to shunt pounds from the left pocket of her jeans to the right, and back again. When she made purchases in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, or Canada, the pounds stayed in a "pool" in London. That policy helped Britain economize and ward off disaster.

The U.S. did not much like the "frozen sterling" policy, holding that it restrained trade. When Britain negotiated her $3,750 million loan from the U.S., she saw herself obliged to agree on the July 15 deadline for freeing the pound. Britain also agreed that on that date any country establishing over-all net sterling balances from the flow of current trade with Britain could obtain on demand conversion of such sterling credits into dollars.

The first week in August saw the crisis in full swing, with financial wizards placing bets on whether Britain could survive. As she teetered, Prime Minister Attlee rose before the House of Commons to outline a recovery plan not based on "any assumption of outside aid."

The British program called for "wartime" controls over labor and production, particularly of coal and steel, and for the purpose of increasing exports. It entailed a drastic cut in food imports which will oblige Britons to work harder on leaner rations than those they had during the war. Dollar expenditures for films, timber —bringing the housing program to a halt—gasoline and other commodities are ruthlessly pared.

As Britain braced herself, U.S. Secretary of State Marshall and Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder announced that the U.S. would consider easing the terms of the British loan agreement.

ASIA

India Free!

• August 15 is a day that will live in history. The King of England yields up his title as Emperor of India. The flag of free India is hoisted —stripes of saffron, white and dark green with Asoka's wheel embossed in the middle—symbol of India's ancient culture. The British go, except those whom Indians wish to hire to help them. Jinnah becomes Governor General of the separate Dominion of Pakistan. Hard problems lie ahead.

Yet two years after Japan's surrender the theme of Asia is still violence—the whole gamut from riot and assassination to full-scale war.

• Liberal Chinese fear that Gen. Wedemeyer's fact-finding mission to China may forecast American "aid" of a sort that will prolong the civil war. Chiang Kai-shek's government has now formally called the Communists rebels and decreed total national mobilization to quell them.

• Wide-spread outbreaks are threatened in Southern Korea, where the leader of the leftist People's Front

Continued on page 10

AMERICANS HONOR UN

By PHILIP D. REED

National Chairman, United Nations Week

On Sept. 14-20, United Nations Week, people throughout the U. S. will honor the UN. Here, at the invitation of UN World, *Philip D. Reed, National Chairman, and also Chairman of the U.S. Associates of the International Chamber of Commerce and Board Chairman of the General Electric Company, stresses the importance of the event (for UN Week plans see page 20).*

Philip D. Reed

I have been asked why I, as a businessman, have accepted the national chairmanship of the United Nations Week, September 14-20, and have enthusiastically pledged my support of this effort to get the American people behind the United Nations. The answer is that when the American Association for the United Nations invited me to take this post I did so as an ordinary American citizen, not as a businessman.

For it is to the ordinary American citizens of this country, whether they happen to be earning their living in business, agriculture, labor or in any other calling, that the success of the United Nations is of profoundest concern. If the UN succeeds, everyone of us will enjoy the fruits of peace and prosperity; if it fails, we shall face together the horrors of another war and impoverishment like that which so many countries of the world are suffering today.

The success of the United Nations is vital to the real prosperity of our country. I speak of real prosperity in contradistinction to wartime prosperity. While we produced enormous amounts of goods during the war, much of it was guns and tanks and bombers which add nothing to our standard of living. Thus we ended the war years with an unprecedented deficit in housing, automobiles, home appliances and a thousand and one other goods which reflect the real prosperity of the nation. The money earned by business and labor in building a tank or a warplane conceals a production loss to the real needs of the American community.

If we are to have a real prosperity, we must have peace. If we are to have peace, it can be best assured by the success of the cooperative international effort defined in the Charter of the United Nations. Whether the United Nations is to have the chance to fulfill its mission depends, in great part, on what support we Americans are prepared to give.

The sole purpose of United Nations Week is to give each American a chance to pledge his support of this work for peace. The experience of our own Federal Union during the early years of the Republic tells us that nothing great comes easily. The road ahead is hard but the stakes are the greatest. If the great majority of the American people want the United Nations to work, and if they are prepared to make the seeming sacrifices that are necessary, it has a better chance of succeeding than did the American Republic during its first decade. Nothing could be more true than our slogan for United Nations Week: "There's a yoU in the United Nations." I believe that as an American who happens to make his living in business, and I am prepared to work at it.

ROUNDUP *continued*

was shot d[illegible] the street. T
Americans and the Russians utte
failed to agree on setting up a Kore
Provisional Government.

● In Burma, just after the Briti
provided finally for the transfer
power, giving Burma complete ind
pendence, Premier Aung San and fi
other leaders were assassinated
they sat in council. An Indian Co
gress resolution called the murd
"symptomatic of the spirit of gan
sterism that has spread and poison
public life."

As the chief Asian spokesma
Nehru also commented on the Dut
move in Indonesia: "The mere pre
ence of foreign troops in any Asiat
country is an insult and a challen
to Asia."

● Across the continent, in Palestin
two British soldiers were hanged
Irgun terrorists in reprisal for the ex
cution of three Jews. More Jews we
shot by angered British soldiers
counter-reprisal. Meanwhile there w
ugly talk of an Arab uprising.

● Egypt's Prime Minister charge
that Britain's occupation of the Ni
Valley and her "hostile policy" are
threat to international peace, and d
manded that the UN Security Counc
order total and immediate evacuatio
of Egypt, "including the Sudan."

● The United States has formall
taken over trusteeship of the Pacif
Islands. The Navy will be in charg
until a permanent civilian admini
tration is set up . . . And the U.S.
establishing proving grounds in th
Pacific for tests of atomic weapon

LATIN-AMERICA

The Rio Conference

The Rio de Janeiro Conference o
hemispheric defense opens under
cloud of uncertainties and apprehe
sions. If the energetic lead of th
United States is followed with son
misgivings, it is chiefly because L
tinos feel that under present circur
stances a conference discussing ec
nomic problems would be more rea
istic. There are but two Latin Ame
ican republics which appear genuine
elated about the Conference—Arge
tina and the Dominican Republi

Most of the others look to Rio with little enthusiasm and some openly assert that the Conference is merely designed to "paint the devil on the wall."

Liberals throughout Latin America fear that the Conference, by making arms available to the politically oriented armed forces of the Latin republics, will strengthen elements on the extreme right in many republics where a healthy trend toward the democratic center seemed in progress. In a sense the Rio Conference provides a welcome arena for a militarily-minded, aggressive minority, at a time when the people increase their clamor for bread.

• Tomás Berreta, President of Uruguay for only four months, died August 2, after a short illness. During his brief term in office he had managed by astute manipulation of internal political forces to consolidate the victory won in a neck-and-neck Presidential election race. Vice-President Luis Battle Berres, who succeeds him for the remainder of the four year term, is expected to continue his policy of cooperating with the business interests and of making concessions to the powerful Herrerista opposition.

Uruguayans are enthusiastic over the trade agreement with Britain concluded during July. Under it the British will make large-scale purchases of meat and other commodities, paid for in pounds sterling. Of the present British blocked sterling account with Uruguay, amounting to 17,000,000 pounds, ten per cent will be freed for use outside the British commonwealth, so that Uruguay may apply the sum to her dollar purchases, on which she shows a $25,000,000 deficit.

The offer not only to sell the British-owned Central Railways of Uruguay but even to throw in a premium of free sterling was received by Uruguayans with immense acclaim.

• At Buenos Aires, in a sumptuous office of the Casa Rosada formerly reserved for the Presidents of Argentina, Economic Czar Miguel Miranda has settled himself as chairman of the National Economic Council. It looks like a promotion, yet many Argentines think it is a "kick upstairs."

FRANCE CALLS YOU

CAN'T YOU COME THIS SUMMER?

Ah, the magic of luggage labels! The gaudy stickers from Cannes and Nice—from Biarritz and Deauville! What memories they bring up . . .

Memories you may renew this summer, if you will. For France is calling her friends to come back. The pleasures and beauties you have known, they're waiting for you, now!

Come to our lovely mountains, to our shore. Travel our provinces—see our great chateaux and cathedrals, our wondrous exhibits and museums. Go to our theatres, to the opera, visit our casinos. All is in readiness—with service deft and pleasing as of yore.

Travel our straight white roads, our famed new Highway of Freedom to your battlefields in Normandy. Shop in a *grande maison*—or in a tiny shop "around the corner." Stop at your favourite hotel again . . .

Only in little ways will you find France has changed. Prices here, as everywhere, are a little dearer. Our menu may be slimmer—but our chefs are glorious! Our railroads "march" again and there are taxis . . . So come to Paris again this summer. *S'il vous plait!*

Don't miss the Paris Fair! (May 10-26). In August, the Boy Scouts of the world hold their Jambouree—The American Legion Pilgrimage to France is in September.

For hotel, plane or ocean reservations, see your travel agent. Consult *us* for further information about travel to or within France.

FRENCH NATIONAL TOURIST OFFICE

A Service Agency of the French Ministry of Public Works and Transportation

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WHAT HAPPENED IN

The fighting in Indonesia provoked one of t most serious crises for the UN and the world sin the end of World War II. Because of its gra significance as the first open breach of the pea since the end of hostilities, the United Natio World, *following its custom of giving both sid*

HITLER-TYPE "WAR"

Asserts Soetan Sjahrir

Soetan Sjahrir, first premier of the r Republic of Indonesia, was educated at University of Leyden, Holland. For ei of his 38 years he was imprisoned by Dutch in New Guinea for "dangerous" litical activity. An ardent foe of Du imperialism, he has nevertheless alw expressed admiration for the Dutch pec and Dutch democracy at home. On J 27, Sjahrir, who is a moderate and a Soc ist, resigned the premiership, and he now embarked on a world tour to pl the Indonesian cause before the world.

WHATEVER might have been the real motives of the Dutch in starting war in Indonesia, despite existence of the agreement reached with the Republic, the fact that the world has to face is this: A classical colonial war was put into motion in the otherwise beautiful and peaceful islands of the East Indies. This fact certainly concerns and affects all mankind because not only will it make its consequences directly felt in world trade and world politics, but it will also be a decisive factor in shaping the future history of mankind. Anyone who has any sense of history knows that there is no going back in the march of time. Germany under Hitler tried to bring back the Middle Ages. She was punished for it, but not until after she brought about the misery and destruction from which the whole world is now suffering.

The Dutch will not succeed in establishing a new colonial empire by conquering and subjugating a nation as they have recently tried to do in Indonesia. Superficially, it may seem that they could do it by sheer weight of arms and modern organization as against ill-equipped Indonesian armament and organization, but ultimately history will prove that even modern arms and organization can never realize anachronistic aims in history. Dutch colonial imperialism will go the way of fascism and Hitler's Germany. The sad thing about this is that most of the thinking people in the world realize that the Dutch could not have been prevented from committing this wanton and tragic crime against history and the progress of mankind. Similarly, many people knew before Hitler started his onslaught in Europe and other parts of the world that there would be no escape from another world catastrophe if they did not cry halt to him.

We, in Indonesia, have shown in the past two years our firm belief in the possibility of solving the great and difficult problem of national antagonism to alien rulers by methods of reason and good-will. We have intentionally refrained from the use of force and arms, seemingly shunning short cuts on the road of our national destiny. The Linggadjati Agreement was an endeavor on our part to meet Dutch difficulties by an understanding of reality and history —one whereby we had to disappoint our own people, and force them to step back and temper their ardent hopes and wishes for the cause of peace and humanity.

It has sometimes been said that our Republic is a stumbling blo to peace and order in South-e Asia because of its incapability establishing firm control in its t ritory. But anyone who has travel in Asia and has visited the inter of Java and Sumatra knows how true this is and must be. Before Dutch started this large scale

Continued on page

INDONESIA?

f such controversies as well as the background, resents a symposium on the Indonesian issue. On these two pages will be found exclusive tatements by authoritative spokesmen for each ide—Dr. Soetan Sjahrir, former Indonesian Premier, who cabled his statement to UN World *from India, and Dr. H. J. Friedericy, political head of the Netherlands Department of Overseas Territories, now in the United States. On the following two pages we print a comprehensive analysis of the background by Charles Wolf, Jr., former U.S. consul in Java.*

DEMOCRATIC "POLICE ACTION"

Retorts H. J. Friedericy

Dr. H. J. Friedericy, Chief of Political Affairs in Holland's Department of Overseas Territories, has spent most of his adult life in Indonesia. Born in 1900 in Groningen, Holland, he went out to the Indies as a government official at the age of 22, serving first in Celebes and later in Sumatra and Java. In 1941, he was made Adviser to the Governor-General. Then came the war years, spent in a Japanese prison. Since his liberation Dr. Friedericy has given his chief effort to working out a new *régime* for the Netherlands Indies.

WHEN THE Netherlands government abandoned hope that a eaceful solution would be found for he difficulties which continued in pite of the signing of the Linggadati Agreement with the Republic, it vas aware that action with use of he available military resources vould be widely misinterpreted.

Many would regard and want to egard the action of the Netherlands roops as an attempt by the Dutch o reconstruct the old colonial relaionship and to rob Indonesian naionalism of the fruits of its efforts, esecially in regard to its *de facto* rule ver Java and Sumatra. Others vould be of the opinion that the Dutch only gave the pretense of unerstanding Republican aspirations vhile awaiting the opportunity to estroy the Republic as well as the inggadjati Agreement.

I would like to ask readers, before ney arrive at an opinion, to see how ne Netherlands people themselves eacted to this important decision.

The Netherlands people, who have hown they value liberty above all lse, and have proved themselves to e one of the most peace-loving naions on earth, have been rightly alled one of the world's most demoratic peoples. After years of isolaion under German occupation, the Netherlands has needed some time to find its course with regard to the changes which the world has undergone, especially in Asia. But the course that has been decided upon is that of freedom, including freedom for Indonesia. The start was made at Linggadjati, where representatives of both the Republic and of the Netherlands decided to steer a permanent common course; each nation deciding this freely for itself. In 1949 the free, sovereign states of Indonesia, consisting of the Republic (Java, Sumatra, Madura), Borneo and East Indonesia, were to be in existence. This federation was to be united with the Netherlands, Surinam and Curaçao in a Netherlands-Indonesian Union.

This is going to remain the Dutch course in spite of the action which was decided upon because the Republic, in contrast with East Indonesia and Borneo, is torn by internal dissension and has veered from the Linggadjati Agreement in spirit as well as action. It is the course of the Netherlands government as well as of the Netherlands people.

The present Dutch government is a progressive one which is not at all opposed to the aspirations for freedom of the Indonesian people but which is eager to execute the Linggadjati Agreement faithfully and loyally. This objective derives its support chiefly from the progressive part of the population as represented by the Labor Party and the Catholic Party, the two strongest groups in Parliament. It is also supported by the Conservatives. The only dissenting voices come from the Commun-

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WHAT HAPPENED IN INDONESIA? *continued*

HITLER-TYPE "WAR" *continued*

struction and murder, there was hardly a more peaceful country in Asia than the Republic of Indonesia, despite the military and economic blockade of the Dutch. We Indonesians have always been the peaceful and orderly people God created. We have employed all peaceful means to attain our national existence. We had no difficulty in establishing a brand new state organization and administration for our people without the use of force. Two years of existence of the Republic should be proof enough for any neutral observer that our people have established themselves as a self-governing people and as a nation that is very likely to be able to run its affairs even in international life, politically and economically.

Now that the Dutch have pushed aside their chance of becoming our friends and partners in international life by fighting us and forcing us to be their enemies, the world has to face either of these alternative decisions: 1.—To accept the Dutch intention to fight us to the death and impose complete domination on us, with the aim of establishing a new colonial era which might render our country, and probably the whole of Asia for years to come, a troublesome and dangerous area for the whole world; or 2—To make Indonesia's problem a world problem, be settled by Indonesia and t world.

Indonesia should be given her dependence—completely and imn diately—or else the Linggadj scheme should be put into effect u der the supervision of all of the n tions of the world, excepting t Dutch. There could be an inter period of preparation for compl independence, under the supervisi of a world body, some kind of tr teeship for the period mentioned the Linggadjati Agreement, so th complete independence could be tablished ultimately on January 1949.

BACKGROUND OF THE INDONESIAN

THE situation in Indonesia is a complicated one by any standards, far more complicated than the overtness of the recent Dutch resort to military action would seem to indicate. Behind it is a long story of 20 months of Dutch proposals and Indonesian counter-proposals, of nearly ruptured relations and almost friendly agreements, of statesmanship, perseverance and restraint on both sides as well as pettiness, stubborness, provocation and bungling.

On August 17, 1945, just after the Japanese capitulation, the Republic of Indonesia proclaimed its independence from the Dutch crown. So when the British reoccupation troops —and shortly thereafter the first Dutch representatives — arrived in Java, they were confronted with a self-conscious and functioning — if callow—entity: the Republic of Indonesia, claiming jurisdiction over all the 735,000 square miles and the 70,000,000 inhabitants of the Indonesian archipelago.

The Linggadjati Agreement

On November 17, 1945, the first informal discussions between the Republic and the Dutch began. Over a year later, on March 25, 1947, in the Rijswijk Palace in Batavia, these discussions culminated in the Linggadjati Agreement. The protracted negotiations had been incessantly and violently opposed by the militant, rightwing "extremist" groups in both the Dutch and Indonesian camps, and had been broken off at least a half-dozen times.

The negotiations themselves were dominated by the will and stature of two men: Dr. H. J. Van Mook, the Dutch Lt. Governor-General; and Soetan Sjahrir, the Republican Premier and chairman of the Indonesian Delegation. Their work and good-will was, however, always hampered by mutual Dutch-Indonesian distrust. Actually, though their positions have recently and ironically altered completely, it is a tribute to their caliber and worth that Van Mook, who suffered one bitter attack after the other from both the Indonesian and rightist Dutch press, and Sjahrir, who had spent eight prewar years under imprisonment by the Dutch, kept their heads and managed to preserve peace as long as they did. When the final outburst came, there is little doubt that it did so partly as the result of a fundamental change the viewpoint of Dr. van Mook, w has apparently decided that t Agreement can be more efficient implemented unilaterally than it c by the more dilatory procedure continued bilateral negotiations.

The Linggadjati Agreement rep sented concessions on both sides. provided *inter-alia* that:

1) *the Netherlands Governme recognize the Republican Go ernment as the* de facto *authori in Java and Sumatra;*
2) *the Netherlands and Republic Governments cooperate towar the establishment of a sove eign, democratic,* federal *sta the United States of Indones to come into existence by Jan ary* 1, 1949, *consisting of thr parts: The Republic of Ind nesia embracing Java and S matra; the state of Borneo; a the East-Indonesian state cluding the Celebes, Molucc and Lesser Soenda Islands;*
3) *the Netherlands and Republic Governments cooperate in t formation of the Netherlan Indonesian Union, also by Ja uary* 1, 1949, *consisting of t*

ists but otherwise the people are united behind their government.

The government would never have resorted to this action if it had been confronted by a clear Republican attitude. But the same story repeated itself endlessly: when the Republican representatives came to Batavia they agreed fully to the Linggadjati Agreement, but, once they returned to the Republican capital, none of the measures agreed upon was put into effect, either from lack of power or lack of good-will. As the Dutch are convinced that the majority of the Indonesians want to see the Linggadjati Agreement become a reality—as is, without doubt, the case in Borneo and East Indonesia as well—they consider it their duty to re-establish law and order, which the country needs badly in order to overcome the destruction caused by the Japanese occupation and by senseless postwar demolitions.

It was not purely lack of agreement about the mixed *gendarmerie* in the Republican area but the conviction that matters would drag on forever which made the Dutch take action.

The Dutch do not consider the resultant conflict as one which is open for arbitration or which comes under the jurisdiction of the Security Council, as it is a disagreement between one of the constituent parts of the United States of Indonesia and the interim government which is paving the way toward the sovereignty of the United States of Indonesia in 1949. The fact is that the Republic, although a constituent part of this Federation, has attempted to establish its own foreign relations and its own foreign policy in violation of the Linggadjati Agreement, as the Republic itself has admitted.

The Dutch government hopes that the "police action" which was approved by the other parts of the Indonesian Federation will in the end prove to have made it possible to carry out the Linggadjati Agreement in spirit and reality in the interest of all parties concerned.

CRISIS *By Charles Wolf, Jr.*

Kingdom of the Netherlands on the one hand, and the United States of Indonesia as an equal partner, on the other. It was agreed that the Union would remain under the Dutch crown.

4) *Dutch troops be evacuated from what were the* de facto *Republican areas as quickly as possible consistent with the maintenance of law and order, and the Republic recognize as soon as possible all claims by foreign nationals for the restitution and maintenance of their rights and properties within Republican territory.*

Differing Interpretations

Actually, while this agreement was a statesmanlike attempt at a solution of the difficult problems involved, it was not the final solution. When it was signed on March 25, 1947, both sides admitted openly that they were signing what amounted to two different interpretations of the same agreement! The proximate cause of the break later on lay in an uncompromising Dutch attitude in regard to the implementation of certain details of the Agreement. The deeper cause lay in the basically different interpretations attached by each side to the original Agreement.

Two vague points constituted the Agreement's major weaknesses:

In the first place, Linggadjati referred continually to "cooperation" between the Netherlands and Republican Governments—in the establishment of the U.S.I., in the reduction of military forces and in the regulation of economic matters. The Dutch saw the term "cooperation" as a limited concept which did not deny Holland's primary sovereignty and responsibility in Indonesian affairs, at least until January 1, 1949, and thus did not deny her the initiative to put the Agreement into effect. The Republic, on the other hand, felt that "cooperation" meant an equal working-together of equal parties, with equal initiative and equal responsibility. Morally, the Indonesian case was convincing. Legally, the Dutch argument was strong.

In the second place, Linggadjati called for a "federal" U.S.I., to consist of three semi-autonomous states. From the Dutch point of view, "federal" implied equal states with equal voices in the projected federation.

The Author: Charles Wolf, Jr., brilliant young analyst of Dutch East Indian affairs, spent 16 months in 1946-47 as U. S. Vice Consul in Batavia, Java, doing economic reporting and analysis for the Department of State. A 1943 graduate of Harvard University, where he specialized in economics, he entered the army two weeks after graduation. Wolf studied Dutch and Malay at Stanford University in connection with the planned liberation of the Netherlands East Indies, but was transferred to the Office of Strategic Services and sent to Washington, then to North Africa and Italy, before going to Indonesia.

From the Indonesian point of view, a federal U.S.I. did not deny either

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OUTLAW AGGRESSION

By VISCOUNT CECIL

In the opinion of the Editors, the plan advanced in this article is one of the most significant proposals of the day for easing the current grave international tension and for preventing aggression. The plan is born of a lifetime of experience in international activities and offered by a famed world statesman—83 year old Viscount Cecil. In view of its importance, the Editors have asked outstanding world leaders of government and public opinion for their comments. They earnestly solicit all other readers as well to make known their reactions.

THE MOST determined optimist must admit that the present internatonal situation is disquieting. I agree with Field-Marshal Smuts and others who have said that there is no reason to anticipate war in the near future. But there is certainly a great deal of bellicose talk and that is a bad thing. Hard words break no bones, it is true, and violent diatribes in the press, even if they are officially inspired, are far from meaning that there is any intention of launching a military attack to carry them into effect. Still, these things do encourage a war-like atmosphere and if that be established, peace becomes precarious.

Let us then remind ourselves that the overwhelming majority of the common people throughout the world loathe war. It may be a question whether it can be truly said that they love peace. But they assuredly hate war. That, I am convinced, is as true in Russia as it is elsewhere. Indeed, the war sufferings and loss in that country were greater perhaps than anywhere else. The "iron curtain," among its many other defects, prevented public opinion on this side of it from realizing the terrible hardships and sorrows which have been endured on the other side. They must have been terrific, and all the worse since the only officially authorized consolation for them was "dialectical materialism."

A Secure Peace—or War

In this position the first thing to realize is that the real alternative to peace is war. There may be, for a time, a kind of twilight between the two, consisting of national suspicions and misunderstandings but that is not a state of things that can last. If it is allowed to continue, it will degenerate into war. It is, therefore, the duty of every man who loves his country or his fellow-men to do his utmost to make peace all-embracing and secure. That is certainly no novel discovery. It has been known to mankind for centuries and in every generation men have put forward plans for world pacification. One of the most attractive is that preached by some of the Quakers and others. It is attractive because it is so simple. All we have to do is to refuse to fight, whatever the consequences.

There used to be a school of enlightened opinion which advocated complete pacifism on these line They admitted that it would mea the transfer of many territories an much wealth from the pacifist cou tries to others. But they were pr pared to face that. However, the e periences of the late war seem have convinced them that such view are erroneous, and one of the mo prominent of them is now, if I unde stand him right, ready to enforc peace by the free use of atom bombs!

That is the trouble with pacifis of that sort, it will not work. would merely precipitate war an the consequences of war are so te rible that no sane man will ris them in pursuit of theories, howeve amiable they may be in themselve

A much more widely-held opinio used to be that the best safeguar against war was the Balance of Pow er. According to this system, the d vision of the world into grou should be accepted. Each grou should be encouraged to make itse as strong as possible—*si vis pacem para bellum*—the calculation bein that no group would risk going t war when the outcome of war ha been thus made as uncertain as would be terrible.

In fact, the system used not t operate like that at all. What ha pened was that each group strengt ened itself by armaments and all ances sufficiently to insure, as it b lieved, victory. As soon as that ha been achieved, war was declared i order that the rival group or grou should be rendered powerless. Th calculation, of course, was frequentl wrong and defeat, with all its co sequences, followed instead of vi

Continued on page

ıe Author: The cause of peace and unity among the nations the world has on many occasions taken a long step forward rough the wisdom of Viscount Cecil of Chelwood. As Lord obert Cecil, he was one of the drafters of the original Covent of the League of Nations; acted as British delegate to rious League of Nations Assemblies; and through his presiıcy of the League of Nations Union and the International eague of Nations Societies, helped to promote understanding among the peoples of the world. On Cecil's 80th birthday, Winston Churchill, then Prime Minister, wrote him: "This war could easily have been prevented if the League of Nations had been used with courage and loyalty by the associated nations." Today, at 83, the winner of the Woodrow Wilson Peace Prize (1924) and the Nobel Peace Prize (1937), Cecil views the UN's efforts from the high point of a vast experience. No serious statesman or peace-lover can overlook his recommendations.

tory. But even if victory were secured, the beaten groups would merely set about strengthening themselves for a return struggle. We saw the whole scheme developed in the years preceding the first World War. The truth is that the Balance of Power can never prevent war. At the very best it can produce a short suspension of hostilities.

Domination—or Cooperation?

Then there is the plan of domination, of which Hitler was the latest exponent. The modern popularity of the idea seems to rest upon the Roman Empire. No doubt where one country is overwhelmingly stronger than a number of others it can enforce its will on them and in that sense compel peace. *Pax Romana* has a fine sound. But in truth, even in the palmiest time of the Roman Empire there were nearly always wars on its borders, besides the constant civil commotions which stained its domestic history. Moreover, the conditions are now very different from what they were then. It is not now the case that overwhelming military strength is concentrated in one state, as it was then, nor would modern states submit to such tyranny. Napoleon tried for domination and perished in the attempt. William II of Germany is said to have fruitlessly aimed at it. Hitler's attempt failed disastrously and Mussolini made it ridiculous. I cannot believe, as some seem to, that any Russian ruler would renew such a futile and criminal policy.

What, then, remains? Nothing except peace by international cooperation. That is a plan which has been frequently proposed. The central idea is that all civilized powers should combine to prevent war. As long as a large part of the world was governed by absolute sovereigns, there was no hope that they would ever allow their personal power to be controlled by their fellow kings. Each country was regarded as almost the private property of its monarch. The celebrated phrase attributed to Louis XIV—"*L'Etat c'est moi*"—was almost true and certainly that quintessence of selfishness acted as though it were. Even when that period had passed, the doctrine persisted that each independent state was absolutely sovereign and subject to no sort of control by other states. As a fact, every treaty affecting the national action of any state involves the surrender of part of its sovereignty.

Control the Right to Fight!

Such a document as the Covenant of the League of Nations or the Charter of the United Nations proceeds on the basis that the signatories to it are content to allow the international organization thereby set up to control the most important sovereign right of any state—namely the right to go to war with another state. So that when the Charter declares that "the organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members" the emphasis must be rather on their equality than on their sovereign rights. Still, a certain sentimental attachment to the word persists and a negotiator in difficulties will often declare that a proposal which he dislikes is inconsistent with the sovereignty of some nation or group of nations.

It is very much the same as the idea of personal liberty. That is proclaimed as fundamental in many historic documents. But in every civilized state, some curtailment of personal liberty exists. If there were none, there would be barbarism or anarchy. In dealing with individuals, a compromise is maintained by the supremacy of the law—the keystone of freedom—which frees the individual from the tyranny of force and at the same time prevents him from using his liberty for the injury of his neighbors.

In international relations the supremacy of the law is difficult to establish, since there does not exist any supreme legal authority. The Covenant of the League recognized that this was so and sought to su ply the place of such an authority laying down rules of internatio conduct and calling upon the stat members of the League to join enforcing those rules. The Charter the United Nations carried the pr cess one step further by giving to t Security Council the right and du to maintain and restore internatio peace and security if it be enda gered by any threat, or actual brea of the peace, or act of aggressio To enable it to discharge this du it has been given the right to c upon certain armed forces. But thou these provisions create the form of supreme international authority, the remains the chief difficulty as to ho that authority is to be set in moti and what precisely is to be the l which is to govern its action. T device of the Charter is to give t Council the power to act by majori but to say that the majority must i clude all the permanent members the Council. In that way, the so ereignty of the permanent membe is accepted but the authority of t Council is impaired.

Peace Must be Enforced

I believe the plan of the Covena was better. It had less appearan of power to enforce peace but mo reality. As the Articles of the Leag were interpreted, the Assembly the Council, by majority, could ma any recommendation about an int national question. True, neither bo was given any military force which it could enforce its recomme dations or could compel an aggr sive nation to abstain from resort war. But the Covenant made it t individual duty of every member the League to prevent and arrest a gression. Aggression was defined resort to war in breach of the Ar cles of the League. That is not logically complete definition, for leaves unexplained what is meant "resort to war" and by "breach the Articles." But I doubt whether practice those theoretical difficulti had any substance in them. It is tr that the League failed to preve

ar. But that was not because there as any doubt about whether the *usus foederis* had arisen. When aly attacked Ethiopia or Germany vaded Poland, no one could doubt -or did doubt—that there had been each case a resort to war and that had been in breach of the clearest bligations of the Covenant. The ouble was that the members of the eague would not take action.

At this point I may be asked if I esire to amend the Charter so as to ake it in accordance with the Covnant. My answer is that I do not, r the excellent reason that I do not ink it is practicable to do so.

What, then? Well, I think the first ing is to appreciate what is the ext of the difficulty which has ocrred. It has been very annoying at time after time the Council has een unable to come to a decision ecause of the veto of one of the ermanent members. But in most ases, either the veto has eventually een modified or some way round it as been discovered or, on examinaon, the matter has not been thought f sufficient importance to be further ressed.

That does not mean that no harm as been done. The fact that one of ie most powerful of the permanent iembers has thought it right to pre-r what it conceived to be its own nterests to those of cooperation has ndoubtedly grievously weakened the uthority of the United Nations. In articular, it has created doubts hether the machinery of the Char-r is adequate to deal with the main vil for the prevention of which it xists, that is, aggressive war. To emove those doubts seems to me alost the most important international equirement of the day. Until that is one, the support of public opinion or the UN, which is essential, reiains doubtful and difficult.

ggression is a Crime

I believe the best plan would be to tart from the Judgment of the Inrnational Court at Nuremberg. That as a turning point in the history of he law of nations. By that utterance it was definitely decided that aggressive war is an international crime. The reasoning by which that decision was supported was powerful, and it has been, as far as I know, universally accepted by the public opinion of the civilized world. That is a very great event, both in its actual content and because all the United Nations have agreed to it. Here, then, is a firm basis on which an international peace structure may be erected. The necessary steps are simple and obvious. The principles of the Nuremberg Judgment have already been approved by the Assembly, which invited its International Law Commission to prepare a Convention incorporating those principles. That is particularly desirable in respect to those parts of the Judgment which concern the criminality of aggressive war. To this Convention all the United Nations should be asked to assent. The Convention, besides laying down the general principle that aggressive war is an international crime, should require each and all of the signatories to take whatever steps might be necessary to prevent and arrest it. The obligation would rest on all the signatories separately but it would be convenient to provide for their consultation so as to indicate to each of them the most effective way for them to discharge that obligation. I would not interfere in any way with the provisions of the Charter. The proposed Convention would be parallel to the Charter but not a part of it. Since the duty to repress aggression under the Convention would not arise from any joint decision of the parties to it, no question of voting or majorities would occur. It would be for each signatory to decide for itself whether aggression had occurred or what threatened and to act accordingly. The only condition would be that, for such action to be effective, a sufficient number of states must join in it to make resistance impossible. To find out whether that was so would be one purpose of consultation.

No doubt when the Convention came to be drafted some elaboration would be necessary. But it should be kept as simple as possible. Every additional provision makes it easier for half-hearted peace powers to avoid action. The central conception must be made clear. Once it has been laid down that aggression is an international crime and that it is the duty of all peace-loving states to prevent it, the practical steps for carrying out that duty must depend on the good faith of those who have acknowledged it. Unless they are ready and willing to act, there is in international matters no power that can be relied upon to induce them to do so, other than public opinion.

World Criminal Court

The International Law Commission of the Assembly has also suggested one addition to the Convention which might usefully be made and that would be the establishment of an International Criminal Court. Before such a court could be taken any question as to any war crime like those investigated at Nuremberg. The proceedings of the Nuremberg Tribunal have excited very general admiration. But, in principle, a Permanent Court is better than one created *ad hoc* to decide upon charges of international crime. The only substantial criticisms of the Nuremberg trial were that some of the crimes alleged had not been unmistakably established before it was brought into existence and that its members were all citizens of the victorious powers. The first criticism would be disposed of by the suggested terms of the Convention and the second by the creation of a Permanent Court. With those two additions, the scheme propounded at San Francisco would be fully adequate for preserving the peace of the world.

Naturally the efficacy of the proposed Convention would depend on the number and importance of the signatories to it. It would be best if all the United Nations signed. But even if only some of them would sign, the Convention would be of value provided the signatories were sufficiently influential.

GOVERNMENTS, THE PRESS—AND WORLD NEWS FREEDOM

By KENT COOPER
Executive Manager and Director of the Associated

THE FIGHT for public acceptance of the idea of world freedom of the press has been won in large areas of the world. Of lip-service there is plenty. The job now before us is one of implementation. Besides the movement within the United Nations, there should be more activity carried forward at top levels—by presidents and prime ministers—certainly with their recorded benedictions.

So it is a work that calls for constant vigilance by all of us: the press, the radio, interested governments everywhere. There must be a readiness to fight any encroachment upon the people's "right to know" wherever it may appear; and to further the recognition of that right however and wherever we can. And all interests should hope that the World Conference on Freedom of Information next year will proceed on practical instead of political lines. The fact that the high representatives at that conference, with one or two notable exceptions, are practical individuals with real knowledge of press problems, gives encouragement. But there are other reasons for encouragement.

Let us do some stock-taking. In 1919, at Versailles, I couldn't even get a discussion of press freedom. Yet in 1947, "freedom of press and publication" is, for the first time in history, standard phraseology in all the peace treaties that have been signed. This fact constitutes the greatest accomplishment thus far. It is one of the specific points for which I asked at Versailles and have been promoting ever since.

Nevertheless, as late as 1944, it took a real effort to get a mention of world press freedom in the platforms of the two major political parties of the United States. Today, it is settled U.S. policy to insist upon freedom to observe and report as a condition for foreign aid. In 1944, it was front page news when Congress adopted a concurrent resolution reading:

> *"Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Congress of the United States expresses its belief in the world-wide right of interchange of news by news-gathering and distributing agencies, whether individual or associate, by any means, without discrimination as to sources, distribution rates, or charges; and that this right should be protected by international compact."*

Now the UN Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and of the Press is laying the plans for next year's World Conference. Thus, however great the doubts and apprehensions remaining today, none can but be encouraged on looking back.

Helping Prevent Wars

I don't know how others who have joined in this fight for what I call "the right to know" feel about it, but the major consideration of the entire effort so far as I am concerned can not be stated too often.

It is this: Wars are bred by misunderstandings. A free exchange of news among all nations would h prevent misunderstandings. The fore, world freedom of informat and of the press would help prev wars.

As I wrote in 1942: "Believing a free press, I felt that a world pe treaty in the writing of which Am ica had a part could do no less th declare for that principle through the world, especially in the matter guaranteeing the international tra mission of truthful news. . . . Go will among men depends on trammeled exchange of news a views. . . . "

It is my conviction today as it w at Versailles—and as it was on Day—that if the barriers to free ne exchange are not removed yet other and more horrible war is evitable.

The press of the free world been mobilized and is carrying the fight. But as we go along we m guard what has been gained. By t I mean that the governments of free world, be it through multilate agreements under the aegis of United Nations or through bilate treaties being discussed at Washi ton, should overlook no opportun to join in policing press freedom use the word "policing" advise though admittedly with some tre dation—advisedly because free g ernments must move to put down c sorship and interference with flow of truthful news wherever it pears in peacetime; with trepidat because the press and governme too, must be ever alert against

or three decades, Kent Cooper, a newsperman since 1893 and managing head of e Associated Press since 1925, has carried e banner for promoting peace through orldwide press freedom, or the people's ight to know." He was battling for this al as far back as 1919 at Versailles and is been responsible, since then, for many the outstanding gains already made ward establishing free exchange of news. orn in Columbus, Ind., Cooper writes mu- for his own lyrics as a hobby. He is e author of two volumes: *Barriers Down,* id *Anna Zenger: Mother of Freedom.*

olicing that might interfere with in- ead of keeping open the news flow.

Mr. Bevin and Communiqués

ven within the United Nations ere has been occasional talk repre- nting threats to the people's "right know." The latest example came a speech by Britain's Foreign Min- ter, Ernest Bevin, before the House Commons in May. In brief, Mr. evin seemed to yearn for the good d days of *communiqués,* and a set- ack—the sooner the better—for en reporting. Referring to the oscow conference of Foreign Min- ters, Mr. Bevin said:

"One of our biggest handicaps in is instrument of making peace is t only that every word which is said reported by the press, but it has t down even into the subcommittees d even to the deputies . . . "

Bevin especially criticized the U.S. ess. Well, what was the real situa- n at Moscow? It was simply this, that none of the reporters was admitted to the meetings either of the foreign ministers or of their deputies. They got their news—the information upon which public opinion depended—from authorized spokesmen of the various delegations.

Every evening at around 8 o'clock, the American reporters would meet with one of Secretary Marshall's top aides. He would tell them what had happened at the day's meetings. The reporters then wrote their stories, without direct attribution. They rounded out their reports with whatever additional information it was possible to obtain elsewhere. And there was precious little.

The American press replied to Mr. Bevin with such a crescendo of editorial denunciation of his seeming appeal for a return to the wartime *communiqué* system that it may be hoped he will never again open up the subject.

There is another foreign minister's conference coming up this November in London. Let our representatives see to it that the cause of free reporting—the cause of the people's "right to know"—be advanced, if anything, in that conference.

Autocracy Versus Free Press

Glancing back over the little more than five years ago when I launched the present world discussion looking toward a free press for all nations as a desirable attainment toward the prevention of wars, we naturally find some curious manifestations in the discussions in many lands. I personally feel that the report of the group that styled itself "The Commission on Freedom of the Press" is one of these. Yet no one can take exception to the right to make the criticisms that have characterized manifestations of interest in this subject. It all contributes to the desired end that we may have understanding that a free press is not a selfish right held for the exclusive benefit of owners of printing presses, but is a right which the people that have it vouchsafe to themselves.

And however naive and impractical the many suggestions, the whole trend of the pronouncements in these discussions has made clear that the high purpose that justifies the guarantee of a free press is the protection of the rights of the individual against the impositions of autocratic power. There can be no free press under autocratic power, nor can there be autocratic power where there is a free press.

If there is anything discouraging at this time it is not the apparent slow progress of what is occurring in the United Nations. To me the only shadow thrown over the subject of a free press is a trend of thought in some quarters respecting the desirability of further extension of government activities in the news. This is most ominous. As governments in some countries have arbitrarily taken over the news activities and restricted the rights of a free press, any suggestion that there is even a symptom of a good idea in that trend seems to offer danger to the advancement of the world press freedom cause. An exemple of this trend is the increasing dissemination of international propaganda in the guise of news.

When at Versailles in 1919 I first broached the question of truthful news dissemination internationally, I outlined how selfish international propaganda had contributed to the beginning of the First World War. Ever since then I have been referring to this activity as being inconsistent with press freedom in all lands. In 1944, the year before the recent war ended, I worded it as follows in an address at the observance of the anniversary of the American Bill of Rights in the Memorial Church at Eastchester, New York:

"I feel I must express the hope that foreign propaganda in the guise of news never shall be undertaken by our government after the war ends. Some individuals, highly placed, patriotic and well-meaning, favor it. Unfortunately, they are wholly ignorant of the dangers involved and the degradation to which such an effort will have to lower itself.

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EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW: By CURT L. HEYMANN

THOMAS MANN, *Author, Philosophe*

In a recent lecture at Hunter College, before his departure for Europe, Thomas Mann spoke on "Nietzsche in the Light of Our Experience." Dr. Mann concluded his evaluation of the German philosopher, whose teachings rejected all the values that had been sacred for centuries:

"Religion is reverence, first of all for the mystery that is man. When a new order, new ties, the adaptation of human society to the requirements of a fateful moment in the history of the world are at stake, then decisions of conferences, technical measures and juridical institutions are certainly of little avail.

"It is necessary, first of all, to change the spiritual climate, to create a new feeling for the difficulties and the nobleness of human sensibility, an all pervading, fundamental philosophy from which no one exempts himself, which everyone deep within himself acknowledges as his supreme judge."

A few days later, the German author whose name had been linked with Europe's intellectual movements that sought, in vain, to raze frontiers and artificial barriers, submitted to an interview. Did Dr. Mann, who, for one, tried so ardently to bring the European mind into closer harmony, to reconcile differences that separated races and nations, despair because he, like Nietzsche, had written for "a race of men which does not yet exist?" Was the fight of Thomas Mann, whose outlook was that of a citizen of the world, a lost battle for the victory of a new humanism over 20th century decadence?

"No," said Dr. Mann emphatically. "I'm not a defeatist though I full well realize that victory is not yet final. But if we take Nietzsche's famous formula of the transvaluation of all values as a basic concept, then we must admit that this is an era of

Forfatteren Thomas Mann ønsker USA mere socialistisk og Sovjetunionen mere demokratisk. Saa kan man mødes paa Halvvejen.
Chr. Hoff
PAA HALVVEJEN

"Thomas Mann wants the U.S. to be more socialistic, the U.S.S.R. more democratic. Then they can meet half way." *Kobenhavn*, Copenhagen.

critical transition. 1914, not 1939, marked the conclusion of an epoch. It was then that Imperial Germany showed a certain enthusiasm for a war which, it was recognized, would mark a change in the destiny of man and which, it was thought, would create something new. By comparison, we are now referring to that era as 'the good, old time.' Today, we are rather inclined to save from that epoch whatever can be saved.

A Way Out for Mankind

"Unlike Nietzsche, though, I see an escape from this topsyturvy world. May I call this age of trials and errors the *post-bourgeois* era? It is difficult to define it by a common denominator. Yet it is essential to find for it a synthesis to denote the basic principles of human liberty and equality, the social necessities and prerequisites to which the individual is entitled.

"Totalitarianism did not find them. Neither Russian communism nor American democracy with its somehow antiquated economic doctrines points in the right direction. It seems to me that a compromise must be found and will be found. It lies half way between the Russian and t American systems. If Soviet Russ abandons her radicalism, as eve tually she will, and if the Unit States revises her democratic pri ciples in accordance with the quirements of a new age, which eve tually she must, then we shall stri toward a true world democracy. A then and only then the dange which Nietzsche held threatening bo to the 20th century and its success will be averted."

Dr. Mann does not think a new w "inevitable." On the contrary, believes that modern science has s ficiently progressed to secure "exte nal peace" which, in turn, will secu the "internal happiness" of the dividual. He visualizes a mode age, a coming world without "ma destruction," a new epoch that w not only fulfill the ardent hopes mankind but will—in contrast wi the Nietzschean philosophy of "Li dangerously"—establish a new mor code for the generality of men.

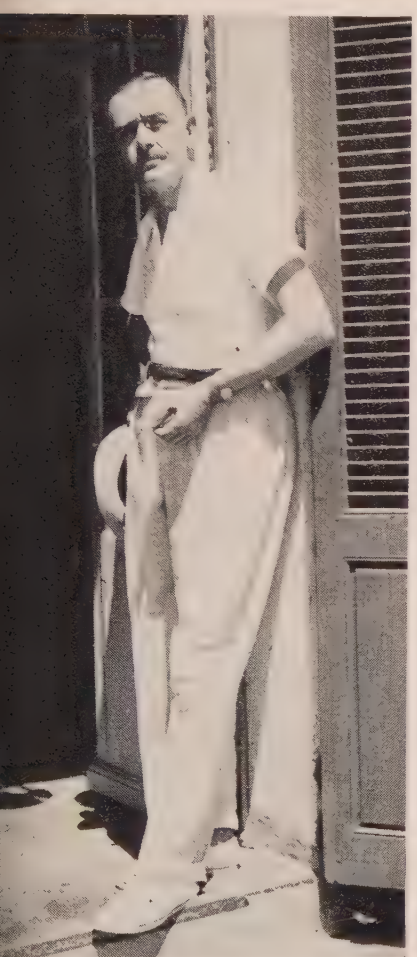
Dr. Mann retained his interest European and world affairs ev though he settled in California a became an American citizen sever years ago. How then does he rega his position as a man of letters in politically-minded world where c tural values are competing desp ately with the political problems the day? I put it to him—Was still his credo, the realization of earlier youth, that a man must " to live" in order to become a gr writer? And would he, who had he tated to surrender his literary c main for the political battlefield, n return to "intellectual isolationism

"Social democracy," he replied, a movement of a long and leg mate intellectual traditions. It h in contrast with the ridiculous dil tantism of National Socialism, pe trated from Marx through Hegel

and Nobel Prize Winner Says:

A new war is not inevitable. Neither Russian communism nor American democracy, but a compromise between both, is the answer to the world's ills. Russia will eventually abandon its radicalism. The U. S. will ultimately revise its democratic principles in accordance with the requirements of a new age. In contrast with Nietzsche's credo, 'Live dangerously', the world can attain a new moral code that will make for peace.

o all idealistic philosophies. Within ts realm, it can only be the task of he literary writer to use his influ- ence indirectly, from 'above' so-to- peak. He can approach human prob- ems only in their entirety. Questions f humanity are but partly political. Humanity is indivisible. I hope that ny writings became effective through ny human attitude. There cannot be



Thomas Mann at his Los Angeles home.

n ivory tower for the intellectual f today."

Dr. Mann's New Novel

Dr. Mann elaborated his position on he basis of his most recent work. is the result of two and a half ears of writing, an 800-page novel that will be published this year. Its translation is almost completed. Its title: "Dr. Faustus, The Life of the German Composer Adrian Leverkuehn, as Told by a Friend." The "friend" is a *Gymnasialprofessor,* a German college teacher in a small town. He is anti-nazi. Dr. Faustus, a fictitious person, is a strange character. He shares the fate of Maupassant and Nietzsche; in fact, he is inflicted with the same deadly disease as the German philosopher.

"There's a contrast between the two men," explained the author. "While the Professor leads an existence of realism, Dr. Faustus is a dreamer who lives under illusions and suffers from pathological inspirations. He is a fascist and while I did not endeavor to write his 'biography,' the implications on his German character are evident. As far as fascism is involved he stands condemned as a general symbol. His enthusiasm for the Hitler regime is artificial. His mental confusion is symbolic for his and his countrymen's state of mind.

"It is in this particular instance that I have tried to blend my own creative writing with a topical theme: the struggle of an idealist with the political problem of his time, the fight of an individual against the ruling values of our civilization—the Good, the True, the Beautiful—condemned by Nietzsche as illusory. Dr. Faustus exploits Nietzschean dogmas exactly as the nazis did. He perishes like the phantom that was nazism."

Is there a parallel to the legendary Dr. Faust of the 16th century, his "damnable life and deserved death?" Or is there a similarity with Goethe's Faust who shows no sign of repentance? There is, replied Dr. Mann, inasmuch as his Dr. Faustus also makes a pact with the devil and inasmuch as he had sought happiness vainly.

Dr. Mann, at this point, reflected for a moment. Now 73, but looking many years younger, he gave the impression that he had rendered a message not only to the world at large but to wayward Germans in particular. It occurred to this reporter that by writing Dr. Faustus, Thomas Mann quite consciously had appealed to his erstwhile countrymen at home and had renewed his plea for preservation of traditional German culture. However, the author who had analyzed the German spirit in essays on Freud, Goethe, Wagner (and now on Nietzsche), denied this. He was leaving for England and Switzerland, he said, but would not visit Germany.

"Don't misunderstand me," he declared mournfully. "I don't wish to exclude myself. But I do not believe that this generation of Germans will understand me. They have a strange conception of an emigrant and it has been altogether too long since my books were available to them."

The "PEOPLE'S REVOLT"

Not "communist agitation" or intrigue or "banditry" but widespread uprisings of the Common Man and the students who are traditionally the mouthpiece of the people—that is the character of the current revolt in the Chinese provinces controlled by the Nanking Government. The fantastic feudalism prompting this revolt is here described by a fearless Chinese writer.

It is no longer possible to conceal the uprisings over a wide area of Nationalist China. Most Chinese observers and editors no longer look upon these with disfavor, but call them *Min Pien*, or the "People's Revolt." They do not regard the people as rioters or rebels to be condemned, nor do they dismiss these uprisings as "communist agitation" or "intrigue." The nation seems to be in full agreement with the Common Man's fight for political freedom and economic equality and his protest against social injustice. In a country where there is no democratic means of bringing about through elections some sweeping change in the government, social unrest is bound to give rise to widespread riots and revolts.

The February-March outbreak of armed riots in many cities of Taiwan (Formosa) against General Chen Yi's monopolistic misrule was a case in point. The nation-wide "Students' Anti-Civil War and Anti-Hunger Movement" was another. The mass arrest of students and reporters on May 20, and the suspension of newspapers in many places testify that the Government has not yet realized the importance of yielding to the people's legitimate aspirations, but knows only how to resort to high-handed suppression measures to deal with these uprisings.

The Taiwan riots and the student movement were reported in the world press. There are, however, many other, smaller uprisings in remote parts of China which do not make headlines abroad. In Szechwan, more than 100,000 armed men, most of them peasants and retired soldiers, fought under a banner proclaiming "Relief for the Poor." Hunan is China's famous rice-producing province, but in many of its rural districts "Paupers' Corps," consisting mostly of dispossessed tenant farmers, are operating. Many of these men are former underground fighters against the Japanese, whose landlords returned from Free China after V-J Day and insisted upon reclaimi their farms at a low price and force, or else offered tenant farm cash loans at a usurious rate of terest, which would force the loss the farm in the end. The "Paupe Corps" have organized a "Bre into-the-Granary Movement" to mand that landlords give out gra for relief, and have also issued ma festoes exposing the corruption of cal officials.

In the Tai-hu area, just west Shanghai, there are reported to some 10,000 men armed with h zookas, tommyguns and trench mo tars, who call themselves the "Unit Democratic Army." In the famin ridden southern provinces of Kwan si and Kwangtung, in coastal Ch kiang and in other provinces the s uation is equally serious.

The underlying conditions ca however, best be studied in four pro inces—Sikang, Ninghsia and Chin hai, in the extreme west, and Shan within the great bend of the Yell River, where there is a bitter stru

Gen. Yen Hsi-shan, seen above as caricatured by a Chinese cartoonist and (righ in the flesh, has been governor of Shansi Province for 36 years. His is one of t territories where signs of the Chinese "people's revolt" have been most in eviden

n China

民变

By C. Y. W. MENG

The Author: There are few writers in Nationalist China today who dare voice strong and continual criticism of the Nanking Government. C. Y. W. Meng, or Meng Chang-yung, as his name reads in Chinese, is one of them. A resident of Shanghai and a frequent contributor to Shanghai's *China Weekly Review,* formerly edited by the late J. B. Powell and now by his son, Meng is a notable spokesman for the millions of the middle-of-the-road inarticulate Chinese without political voice in China today. Meng wrote the piece, "The Chinese Get in a Word," in the April issue of UN World.

e between the governors and the ople.

ppression in Shansi

en. Yen Hsi-shan has been gov- nor of Shansi Province ever since e founding of the Chinese Repub- in 1911. How Yen has been gov- ning Shansi is indicated by about dozen special organizations with gh-sounding names which are in ll operation, openly as well as cretly, throughout the province. The "Association of the Comrades the Revolution," with General Yen its President and with branches in l districts, is the most powerful. It s been said to occupy "much the me special and superior position in ansi as the Kuomintang does with gard to the National Government." l public servants from the provin- al government down to the smallest llage council must qualify by join- g this Association. It controls not ly the movements but the thoughts the people. To every school it has signed a "Special Commissioner" whose sole function is "to direct the thought of the teachers and students."

In one "10,000-letter movement" every teacher and student in each school of a given local area had to write five letters, to be submitted to the magistrate as "an expression of popular opinion." General outlines of these letters were given out ahead of time.

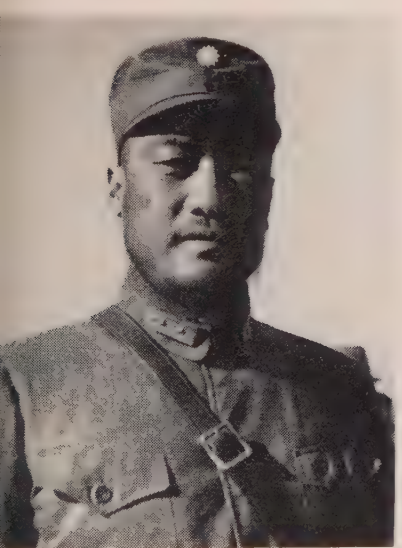
The "Youth Corps of the Revolution" exists to train and inculcate students with Gen. Yen's extraordinary "Theory of Commodity and Labor." The "Political and Defense Corps" is simply an armed force to defend Association and Youth Corps members.

Then there are the "Progressive People's Society" for the fabrication of "public opinion"; the "Love-Our-Village Corps," organized largely by veterans of the South Shansi garrison forces during the Japanese occupation, which turns out to be just the opposite of its name in being the most hated and unpopular organization in the village; and the so-called "Mobile Labor Units" which are just Special Service Men whose duty it is to watch the people in the province and keep them from rebelling.

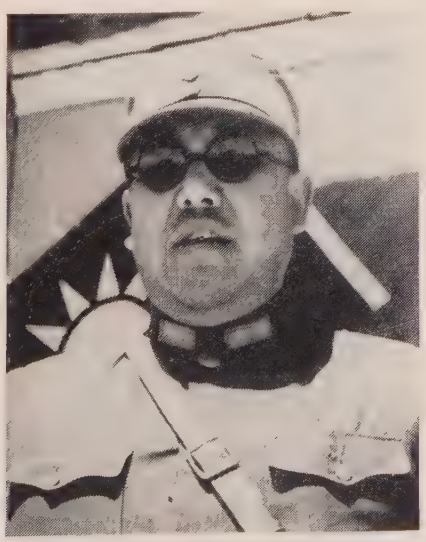
Gen. Yen's many heavy levies and allotments have given the common people a severe headache. According to one report, the first order he issued upon his return to his capital city of Taiyuan after the Japanese surrender was for the collection of food, money, cloth and bricks from the people. Although the National Government by mandate had suspended land tax in kind for one year (Sept. 1945 to Sept. 1946), the Shansi officials took the law into their own hands, and not only went ahead with the usual collection of grain but added to it. No wonder Shansi farmers complain that "When the enemy was here, they taxed us only from 10 to 20 *catties* of grain for each *mow* (one-sixth of an acre) a year . . . but now it is 50 *catties* . . . In addition, we have to pay 57 feet of cloth for each *mow*." And there are cash levies on each *lu* (25 households).

Conscription is another headache.

Continued on page 26



inghai Province is ruled by Gen. Ma -hsiang, who in 10 years has acquired ch of the property in his province.



In Ninghsia Province Gen. Ma Hung-kwei is top man. His "reconstruction" and political policies are under fire.

THE PEOPLE'S REVOLT IN CHINA: *continued*

Again, the Shansi authorities disregarded the National Government's formal one-year suspension. Each *lu* must send from five to seven able-bodied youths but this does not include the recruits conscripted by the "Love-Our-Village Corps." Upon payment of from $30,000 to $50,000, a new recruit will probably be set free —but he may be recruited again. The best way to escape is to leave home.

Another complaint is that Soo Ti-jen, the notorious traitor who was "Governor of Shansi" during the Japanese occupation, is still a high official. Yen is said to have petitioned the Central Government to treat Soo's case as an exceptional one on the ground that "This is the wish of the people in Shansi."

To sum up, the many demands made on the Central Government by the people of Shansi include the following: Immediate dismissal of Gen. Yen Hsi-shan and appointment of an able governor; an end to the "Soldier-Farmer Cooperation Policy," one of Yen's pet theories, the disbanding of all miscellaneous and private armies and of staff officers who live upon the people; dissolution of all special organizations; abolition of miscellaneous levies and unreasonable allotments; opening of district granaries and the unconditional return of all wheat to the local people; the dispatch of high officials to Shansi to conduct relief work; thorough reform of the provincial administration and educational system; suppression of the opium trade, severe punishment of traitors and the immediate repatriation of Japanese prisoners of war still in Shansi. An open letter by the Japanese prisoners declares: "After our unconditional surrender, we are surprised to see that we have been forced to fight in the Chinese civil war," and goes on to relate how they were sent to the so-called "Sino-Japanese Staff Training Institute" for training. Yen is reported to have said to the trainees: "This war is really a war between the Asiatic peoples and the Anglo-American peoples."

That Gen. Yen Hsi-shan is friendly to both Japanese and Germans in Shansi, and is using them to fight in the civil war, is verified by independent observers. Miss Magdalene Robitscher, an UNRRA dentist, who spent several months in the Shansi capital, related with indignation that she had been asked to treat Germans. "I did not come to China with UNRRA to treat Nazis and Japanese," she exclaimed, adding, however, that she did so. She said: "It is an open scandal in Taiyuan that Yen Hsi-shan is friendly both with the Japanese and Germans." Shansi factories, arsenals and military installations are full of the Japanese and German employees and ex-soldiers.

"People's Rebellion" in Sikang

China's "baby" province of Sikang was formally instituted in 1938, with Gen. Liu Wen-hui as its first governor. He had been in this Special Border District, as it was formerly called, ever since 1926.

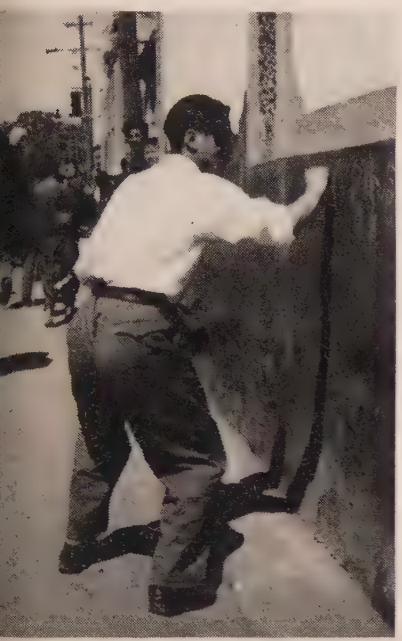
The recent "People's Rebellion" in which some 5,000 armed civilians were massed only a few miles east of the town of Yaan ready to march to Sichang, the capital city, has exposed the maladministration and (ruption of the province. The story short, is that of an "Opium War." the one hand, this warlord gover uses every measure to encourage people to cultivate more opium, a on the other, takes high-handed tions to keep anyone but his own r from handling the opium trade der the noble-sounding doctrine "opium suppression." Since 1928, opium trade has become virtuall monopoly.

Gen. Liu Wen-hui and his fam and followers and his men alone buy and collect opium from the c tivators, transport it by milit trucks and sell it in the neighb ing provinces. The area for opi cultivation has been extended y by year until by 1944, not only mote corners of the province many of the fertile lands were gi over to opium production. Should owner of a farm in the designa area fail to cultivate opium, he is ble to payment of a 100 per c "Laziness Tax." If he does cultiv it, when he sows the seeds, he has pay a "Seeding Tax," and when poppies bloom, he has to pay "Free-from-Suppression Tax," m ing a total of about 10 per cent the total value of the opium to produced. When his opium is ri

One reason for the growing unrest of the Chinese people is that they are sick the endless civil war. Here a group of students protests against the civil st by marching through a square in Peiping, protected by a cordon of colleag

must present from 30 to 60 per nt of it to Gen. Liu as "Public pium." What is left is only 30 per nt of the opium he produced.

But that is still not the whole story. esides the "Public Opium" for Gen. iu, there is another kind of "Opium



We want to be warm and well fed" the slogan this student is writing—nother protest against China's civil war.

r Public Purchase" for the Gener-'s wife and concubines, his daugh-rs, sons and nephews, his military ersonnel, from a division comman-er down to a private (the 24th Di-sion) and his employees. When the ntributions to "Public Opium" and Opium for Public Purchase" are dded together, they not only exhaust hat an opium cultivator can pro-uce, but cause a shortage of opium - some 20 per cent — which the pium cultivator has to meet in one ay or another. Hence the opium ltivators often have to sell their rms, houses and cows, and even ns and daughters, to make the pay-ent. This may explain why two-irds of the land in Sikang Province as changed its ownership in re-nt years, and passed into the hands Liu's family and his men.

Gen. Liu Wen-hui is now so rich that there is no way to calculate his wealth. It is an open secret that almost every one of his subordinates, even a captain in his army and a government clerk, possesses concubines, owns modern buildings in Chengtu, and leads a most luxurious life. The wealth may be in three different colors—yellow (gold), white (silver) and black (opium).

These Sikang opium cultivators, who are mostly tribespeople, many of them Lolos, have never liked bundles of banknotes. What they prize most are rifles, furs and silver. Ordinarily Liu's soldiers can exchange one infantry rifle for 100 ounces of opium, which can be sold in Chengtu at a huge profit. In this manner, in a couple of years, no less than 300,000 infantry rifles and some 10,000,000 rounds of ammunition have fallen into the hands of the Sikang tribespeople. Today, with these weapons, these "rebels" are marching to Sichang, to demand the dismissal and punishment of Gen. Liu Wen-hui.

The recent "People's Rebellion" is not the first of its kind. Moreover the Sikang people have addressed their grievances to the Central Government not once, but twice, thrice and many times, but their voice was never heeded. For this reason, they not only hate Liu, but are highly dissatisfied with the Central Government.

The rebel Sikang People's Self-Defense Army is now commanded by 42-year-old Cheng Tze-we. He launched his movement for liberation in March, 1945, "to release the people from their suffering and oppression" but he failed. This time, with only some 9,000 men under his command, he has already gained many adherents. The promise of the Sikang Movement for Reform is that on the very day when high officials from the Central Government arrive in Sikang to investigate, it will order the people to disarm themselves and to go back to their farms.

The demands of the Sikang people may be summed up as follows: Immediate dismissal and punishment by public trial of Liu Wen-hui; reorganization of the Sikang Provincial Government to eliminate official corruption; transfer elsewhere of the 24th Division which has committed all kinds of unlawful actions against the people; and prohibition of opium planting and smoking in Sikang.

Poverty in Ninghsia

Gen. Ma Hung-kwei has been governor of Ninghsia Province for 15 years. The record of his administration can be summed up in a few words: "Government officials are too rich while the people in the province are impoverished."

In the name of "reconstruction" of the capital city of Ninghsia, many *mow* of private land were used, and many houses and shops were ordered demolished, and many have been transferred into the property of the Ma family. Although it is true that certain formalities were observed and nominal compensation for the land and houses and shops was paid, the people were helpless and the payment was so small that it could hardly cover a fraction of the price of the property. For example, a palatial Memorial Hall was built in the center of Ninghsia in memory of Gen. Ma's father. This hall with its grounds occupies almost 17 acres all through the use and demolition of the people's land and houses and shops. But the poor people who made bitter sacrifices and contributed labor to its construction cannot even visit this Hall, for the area is now virtually a "Forbidden City" in Ninghsia's capital.

There are persistent reports of men executed for writings unfavorable to the provincial administration. The latest case is the arrest of Lo Chi-ling, a Ninghsia delegate to the National Assembly, on two counts, "disturbances against the security of the State" and "defamation of Gen. Ma Hung-kwei." In 1940, Lo was summoned to attend the Central Training Institute in Chungking. Under the regulations, a trainee had to report

Continued on page 64

PERSONAL OPINION BY VINCENT SHEEAN

AN ERROR IN TRANSLATION

Flitting from Nietszche to Mozart to the Nuremberg trials, Vincent Sheean writes an essay on a strange mistranslation and the serious repercussions it may have, especially upon the Germans.

ONE OF THE difficulties inherent in the effort of the United Nations to become real instead of merely ideal is that of language. As anybody knows who has ever tried to translate, it is not easy. Too often the echoes of the words in one language are different, very different, from the echoes of their dictionary equivalents in another. At the Nuremberg trials the defendants, prosecutors and court thought and spoke in a hodgepodge of languages, and the device adopted was the one used also at some of the committee meetings, so we hear, of the United Nations.

That is, a staff of expert interpreters functions simultaneously to convey the meanings into a number of languages at the same time, and the delegate who wishes to understand Russian or Chinese in his own language puts the right receiving set over his ears and gets an almost immediate translation. This, of course, expedites debate. At the point to which we have now arrived it is necessary to utilize such inventions and developments to the utmost, since the primary requirement is comprehension.

However, some astonishing results do occur and demand of us that we think them over. For example, the word "trusteeship" is currently being translated at Flushing and Lake Success as "systeme de tutelle," and trusteeship territories—those which once were called mandated territories—become in French "territoires sous tutelle." The concept of trust is absent from the word "tutelle" but psychologically present in the word "trusteeship." The concept of tutelage is psychologically present in the word "tutelle" but absent from the word "trusteeship." They are therefore not semantically equivalent, whatever the dictionaries may say.

Under the law, of course, they are close enough together to be pragmatic. That is, if you have a ward or are a trustee under a will, or exercise any of the other functions of trusteeship in individual life in France, that relation is expressed in arrangements of the words clustering about "tutelle." This is good enough to get on with, since we are not provided with any other words, but it is only relatively or pragmatically true translation. True translation may be impossible for a good many years to come, although the awesome results of the Einstein formula indicate that we should at least try.

A Strange Mistranslation

I have before me now a pamphlet published in the zone of Germany occupied by the British, specifically at Düsseldorf, in 1946. It contains one of the most remarkable mistranslations I have ever seen, semantically speaking. My German is not very good, but through philosophy music I have some acquaintance the echoes, associations and rever ations, which together constitut sort of categorical imperative for Germans. The semantic accid occurs upon the word "hum ity," which is the same in English all Latin languages but not in G man (I believe the Latin word *humanitas* is used academically, to descr what we call in English "the hum ities," but the language of the peo does not include such concepts). German the correct word for "hum ity" is *Menschheit.* All German p osophy and music, religion, fr masonry and memories of childh give that word a meaning which be understood by any German. Ma Germans get this meaning throu songs and stories, some from hig sources, but all Germans since language became stabilized have b able to recognize that meaning (th historical error has been too freque ly a tendency to identify *Menschh* with their particular tribe, but ev so the word still means somethin

Now, in this pamphlet, cal *Nürnberg Urteil,* which is intended explain the Nuremberg trials to German people, the word "humani is translated as *Menschlichkeit.* T is distinctly a different word and wrong one—so wrong that it ma one wonder whether there might have been some sabotage involved the matter. *Menschlichkeit* is kin ness, humaneness, but it is not manity. It refers to a quality or tribute of human beings which Germans, although they have it the selves abundantly, have always ten to deride and reject as weak.

During the Hitler period it precisely this word *Menschlichk*

ch the Nazis tacked on to the dem-
atic powers in their dialectical
cess. Going further back, we find
tzsche rejecting pity and compas-
n as being sentimental weaknesses,
l Wagner creating a whole mythol-
of force and fatality. If we go
enough back we find Arminius—
own in German as Hermann—and
god is still force, the myth is still
like. Even Luther, so very German
spirit, made his most conclusive
tribution to the whole of German
ture by means of a hymn which
rybody who knows German at all
st know: "Ein' feste Burg ist unser
tt." He identifies his God with a
ng fortress.

ozart on "Menschheit"

t in the endless metaphysical de-
e that the Germans have with them-
ves there are voices which give
nschheit a correct meaning and one
ich is not tribal. Specifically one
h voice is Mozart, an almost com-
tely European phenomenon, whose
ken and written language (judging
his letters) was hopelessly mixed
, but who happened to be a com-
ser of the utmost genius. His state-
nt on the meaning of the word
nschheit is contained in the air
ng by Sarastro, the high priest, in
e *Zauberflöte*. The words them-
ves were composed by a charlatan
presario named Schikaneder, and
libretto as a whole seems to us
posterous, but the tranquil beauty
the music gives it meaning. The
me of this air, known to most Ger-
ns from childhood, is "In diesen
il'gen Hallen." Such are the asso-
tions of the word *Menschheit*, and
spite of Hitler, Wagner and Nietz-
e, there are still Goethe and Beet-
ven and Mozart to affirm it (as a
tter of fact I believe Kant and
gel, insofar as I am able to read
m, also affirm it, although Hegel's
conclusion is the Prussian state which no longer exists).

Now, what was the concept operating at the Nuremberg trials, and what was the object of explaining it to the German people anyhow?

The concept is new in history. It stipulates a collective reality called "humanity," against which it is a crime or is hereafter proclaimed a crime to plan or instigate or bring about war. The whole purpose fails if this is not correctly understood. And, of course, it should be understood first of all in Germany, where the tribes of the forest imposed a mythology of power, and second in Russia, where—whether they know it or not—the empire of the Bolsheviks is encased and harnessed by the heritage of German philosophy as it flowed through Kant to Hegel to Marx to Lenin and became congealed in Stalin and Molotov. The concept of the Nuremberg trials, as explained to us by Mr. Justice Jackson and also by Walter Lippmann, brings about a new kind of international law which, although it never existed before, can be made real if it is understood all over this planet.

Nuremberg and "Menschlichkeit"

And the whole thing hinges upon the word "humanity" and its translation. *Menschlichkeit* is so wrong as a translation of "humanity" that it leads the German people into regarding the Nuremberg trials as a mere execution of vengeance—in other words, that whoever wins the wars puts the losers to death. In the process, a creature like Hermann Goering, who succeeded in evading the execution by means of suicide, is quite likely to become a sort of folk-hero to the German people and may already have become one. Moreover, simple soldiers, men whose professional duty it was under any *régime* to do their best to win the wars brought about by the stupidity of others, have been so confused with the real criminals (i.e., the Nazis) that the German language itself, with all its echoes, rejects our hypothesis. And nevertheless the hypothesis as we intended it—not, perhaps, as in the imperfect arrangements of an uneasy alliance under which it was carried out—included both *Menschheit* and *Menschlichkeit* and arose from a life-giving and life-sustaining principle even though it resulted in the Nuremberg executions.

The general crimes arraigned at Nuremberg are called in English crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity (*Verbrechen gegen den Frieden, Kriegsverbrechen und Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit*). The Germans, being Germans, do not regard war as a crime; it may be impossible to teach them to do so; but in any case these first two classifications are correctly translated, and it is for history to answer if they are understood. The third crime, however, which contains the essence of the present dialectic, should be expressed in the word *Menschheit* and it may in due course bring both the Germans and the Russians to their senses. For, of course, such tremendous interferences with the physical universe have taken place since the Einstein formula was stated in 1905 that the time-space continuum itself, to which mankind is attached parasitically or otherwise, might be transformed by any future war into something quite different from which humanity would be expunged. This undesirable result, from the point of view of *Menschheit*, can perhaps be avoided if we take care to state most clearly, in terms that can be simultaneously understood, which it is that we Americans bring the world—which, I think and hope, is life, not death.

THE WORLD'S

STRATEGIC WATERWAYS

THE SEA is still the world's greatest highway. In peace, ships moving on its surface afford the cheapest and most readily available means for moving freight between the continents of the world. In war, the ability to use the sea for one's own purposes, and to deny it to an enemy, still confers an advantage which may be decisive.

Thus, both in peace and in war, narrow waters are of particular importance to men and to nations. At such points, sea routes converge, and he who controls such a position may influence the trade and the security of the states whose commerce must pass by it.

It is this consideration which has led to recent suggestions that some or all of the world's narrow waterways might usefully be placed under the direct charge of an international agency — presumably an agency of the United Nations.

But both the lessons of past experience, and an examination of the particular conditions affecting the various major waterways of the world, combine to suggest that international control of any of them may have to wait for a more settled and happier world in which strategic considerations will be of diminished importance.

For example, if the Panama Canal were demilitarized and placed under UN administration, it is still difficult to imagine that public opinion in the United States would permit our naval and air forces to stand idly by while a hostile fleet passed through the Canal to attack our positions in the Gulf of Mexico or the Caribbean Sea: any more than public opinion in Great Britain, despite the British signature on the treaty of 1888 making the Suez Canal open "in peace and war" to shipping of all flags, would have countenanced the free passage of the Canal by German U-boats in either of the World Wars.

An unusual glimpse of the desert-rimmed Suez Canal, vital link connecting Mediterranean with the Indian Ocean. The picture shows a British three-stac in the narrow channel, while an Egyptian coast guard, on camel's hump, looks

Sea-Power and Mobility

To be more precise as to the immediate strategic difficulty, the gr truth is that the strength of the t English-speaking powers rests ch ly on highly mobile weapons of gr striking power, and their secur against Russian landward expansi in case of conflict, is based on factor of mobility, which may w permit them to concentrate th force at any threatened point m rapidly than the Russians can m

Major waterways of the world, such as the Turkish Straits and the Suez and Panama Canals, play such a vital role in international relations and trade that it has frequently been suggested they be placed under international control—for instance, under the UN. But in this expert analysis, George Fielding Eliot finds that prospects for such a move are at present remote.

By GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT

ward such a point by land. They ill not readily consent, therefore, to ny change in existing conditions, nder which they have almost com-lete freedom of movement on the eas. It may be argued that this does ot affect air-power, or the guided issiles which may be the principal eapons of future wars; but in fact oth airplanes and guided missiles epend on bases as close as possible o their targets, and such bases must n general be supplied by sea when utside the home territory of the op-rating power. Moreover, for the next ew years at least the aircraft carrier r the rocket-armed battleship is in tself a floating base for such weap-ns. In the maintenance of the world alance of power, the U. S. and Brit-in (which will not keep up huge egular armies in time of peace) can-ot afford any restriction on the free novement of their seapower.

To take the Turkish straits as an xample: This waterway affords the ole entrance and exit to the Black ea. It is now wholly controlled, on oth shores, by Turkey. The Soviet Jnion, as the principal riparian state f the Black Sea, would of course be a major participant in any international *régime* which might be established for its future administration. On the basis of current international enterprises (e.g. Berlin, Vienna, Trieste, Dairen, Korea) Anglo-American spokesmen feel that there is no immediate prospect for the smooth operation of any international *régime* for the control of the Turkish straits.

Waterways and Strategy

The relative importance of these waterways is determined, first of all, by their possession or lack of *exclusive* character.

Thus in considering the various entrances to the Caribbean Sea, the Windward Passage between Cuba and Haiti, being the only sea-gate in more than a thousand miles, is of far greater proportional importance than any of the passages between the Lesser Antilles, for which a substitute can be found merely by steaming around the next little island. From the point of view of nations whose coasts are on enclosed seas, the entrances to those seas assume a very great degree of importance—exemplified by Russian interest in the Turkish straits.

From the point of view of world peace and security, world trade is of prime importance, as one of the chief supports of that rising standard of living which must in turn be one of the chief supports of peace. The narrow waters which carry the greatest volume of trade are in this sense the strategic waterways of chief interest.

But even in this field, the interests of the great sea powers, the United States and Britain, and those lesser powers which are greatly dependent on shipping and overseas trade, such as Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands and Greece, are of a different order of value from the interests of powers primarily continental in their outlook.

Classification of Waterways

Most of the strategic waterways of the world may be divided into two general geographic classes: those which are maritime highways between two of the great oceans, and those which give access to enclosed or semi-enclosed seas (see map, pages 32 and 33).

In the first group are:

(1) *The Mediterranean system,* including the Strait of Gibraltar, the Sicilian Straits, the Suez Canal, the Red Sea and the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb. This is the connecting link between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

(2) *The Panama Canal,* connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, with its antechamber the Caribbean Sea and the passages which connect the latter with the Atlantic Ocean. Of these, the Windward Passage, as already noted, is of first importance.

Continued on page 32

The Author: Born in Brooklyn, George Fielding Eliot moved with his family to Australia at the age of eight and was educated both Down Under and in the U.S. Commissioned in the Australia Imperial Force in 1914, he served throughout World War I, emerging as Acting Major, while from 1922 to 1930 he was attached to the U.S. Army Military Intelligence Reserve, first as Captain, and later as Major. Among his many books are *The Ramparts We Watch, Bombs Bursting In Air, Hour of Triumph* and *The Strength We Need.* Even more well-known than his books were his nationwide broadcasts during World War II and his syndicated column first in the *N.Y. Herald Tribune.* He now writes for the *N.Y. Post.* Eliot has lectured extensively throughout the U.S. He says he has little time for hobbies and that when he does have some spare time he "just loafs."

THE WORLD'S STRATEGIC WATERWAYS *continued*

(3) *The waterways linking the Indian and Pacific Oceans.* These include the Strait of Malacca and the Strait of Sunda, which give access from the Indian Ocean to the South China Sea, and the Philippine waterways conecting the South China Sea with the Pacific, of which San Bernardino and Surigao Straits are most important.*

In the second category (passag giving access to enclosed seas) find the following:

(1) *The Turkish Straits,* includ

* The Strait of Magellan might formerly h been included, but since the opening of Panama Canal it is of little importance.

the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara, and the Bosphorus, which gives access to the Black Sea from the Mediterranean.

(2) *The Straits at the entrance of the Baltic Sea* (the Kattegat and Skagerrak, with The Sound and the Great Belt). The Kiel Canal is an alternate entrance to the Baltic.

(3) *The various entrances to the Sea of Japan* (Tsushima Strait, Shimonoseki Strait, Tsugaru Strait, La Perouse Strait, and the Strait of Tartary).

(4) *The Strait of Ormuz*, giving access to the Persian Gulf from the Indian Ocean.

Continued on page 34

THE WORLD'S STRATEGIC WATERWAYS: *continued*

(5) *St. George's Channel and the Irish Channel*, the southern and northern entrances to the Irish Sea.

Finally, there is the English Channel, which with any restoration of Western Europe will become again, as it once was, the most important single commercial waterway in the world; and the Strait of Formosa, which connects the East and South China Seas.

Controlling Powers: U.S., Britain

These narrow waters are at present almost wholly under control, direct or indirect, of the great sea-powers: the United States and the British Commonwealth. It should be observed that these two powers have the only remaining navies of any consequence, and also by far the larger share of the world's long-range land-based aircraft. The control of narrow waterways which are in the territory of small nations can generally be exercised by the power which controls the sea and the world air routes, and can therefore "get there first with the most." This is not, of course, always so. Territorial proximity to the territory (or controlled area) of a great land power may enable land-power to forestall sea-power on the shores of the waterway. The Turkish Straits are an example of such a possibility.

In time of peace, the control and use of narrow waterways important to other states has frequently in the past been the subject of international conventions (the Montreux convention, the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, etc.). More and more it has come to be a recognized principle of international law that a territorial sovereign does not have the right to close a natural waterway to navigation by the vessels of other States, or to levy toll upon passing ships save the usual pilotage and port duties when appropriate. This does not, of course, affect the right of self-defense against hostile acts. The control of artificial waterways, such as the Panama or Kiel Canals, is not so clearly defined by international precedent.

The Mediterranean Network

The Strait of Gibraltar is commanded by the British fortress of that name, and by air and sea forces based thereon. Its use could be disputed in war by air or sea forces based in Spain, in Spanish Morocco, or the international territory of Tangier. The latter two are, however, in Africa, which contains no great military resources and is pretty well at the mercy of the air and sea powers.

The narrow "waist" of the Mediterranean Sea (the Strait of Sicily) is controlled by the British fortress-island of Malta, and to some extent by the French base at Bizerte, in Tunisia. Sicily and other neighboring Italian islands are completely demilitarized under the recent Italian peace treaty.

The Suez Canal is wholly in Egyptian territory, but is still under British military guardianship. The conditions under which British troops will complete their evacuation of Egypt—a question complicated by the Sudan—has become a subject for discussion by the UN, since Egypt's decision to refer the whole matter to the Security Council. The military position of Britain in this area also affects the solution of the vexatious problem of Palestine.

It should be noted that the acti operation of the Suez Canal is in t hands of a joint-stock company wh operates under a concession from t Egyptian Government. This conc sion is due to expire in 1968.

On the whole, the Mediterrane system of waterways is controlled Britain, though United States na forces are present there in consid able strength and the Secretary of t Navy has announced a permane policy of maintaining a sizable U. Mediterranean Fleet.

Panama Canal and Caribbean

The Panama Canal is wholly co trolled by the United States, and ru through United States leased territo (the Panama Canal Zone). T United States has the right to contr and defend this territory in perp uity. During World War II t United States acquired tempora rights to establish air and nav bases in the territory of neighbori nations (notably Costa Rica, Ecu dor and Nicaragua) for the bett defense of the canal.

The Caribbean Sea, the Atlant ante-chamber to the Canal, is e closed by a long string of island large and small, which include thr independent republics and coloni possessions of the United State Britain, France and the Netherland

Overlooking the Dardanelles, westernmost strip of the Turkish Stra

As a practical matter, however, it is an American lake, dominated by American sea and air power.

From India to the Pacific

The waterways linking the Indian and Pacific Oceans are dominated by the British base at Singapore as long as this base disposes of adequate sea and air power. Singapore controls the Strait of Malacca; the Strait of Sunda passes between the islands of Sumatra and Java, now part of the Indonesian Republic.

The Philippine waterways are for all practical purposes controlled by the United States Navy.

The Turkish Straits

The Turkish straits are wholly in Turkish territory. On the European side, the Turkish position is not very deep, and an attack by land from the Bulgarian frontier (especially if made or supported by Russian forces) could conceivably reach and close the Straits. The navigation of the Straits is regulated by the convention of Montreux, to which, on the whole, the Turks adhered quite closely during the war, under conditions of the greatest difficulty. The Soviet government now desires a revision of this convention, and demands that the Straits be controlled wholly in the interests of the riparian states of the Black Sea (Russia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Turkey) with actual Russian participation in their defense. The Turkish government has expressed itself as willing to discuss a suitable revision of the Montreux convention, but as wholly unwilling to admit Russian participation in the defense of Turkish territory. In this stand Turkey has been supported by the United States and Britain.

The Baltic Channels

The straits at the entrance of the Baltic are controlled, as to their narrower parts, by Denmark (which has full command of the Great Belt) and Sweden (which shares with Denmark control of The Sound). Denmark formerly collected dues for the passage of these waters; this right was abolished in international treaties in 1857. The German positions immediately commanding the the southern exits of the Great Belt are now occupied by Britain. It seems quite likely, however, that Russian aircraft and flotillas operating from Rostock and Stralsund could seriously interfere with any penetration of the Baltic by shipping hostile to Russia.

The Kiel Canal is wholly within British-occupied German territory.

The Sea of Japan

Of the entrances to the Sea of Japan, all except the Strait of Tartary and La Perouse Strait are wholly controlled, on both shores, by American forces in occupation of Japan and Southern Korea. The northern shore of La Perouse Strait is formed by the Russian island of Sakhalin. The Strait of Tartary is wholly Russian, but is closed by ice during much of the year. The Sea of Japan may thus be said to be effectively controlled by the United States as long as U. S. occupation of Japan and Southern Korea continues.

The British Passages

St. George's Channel and the Irish Channel are, of course, controlled by Britain. While there was some fear that an air-borne German lodgment in Eire might endanger these waterways during the war, this did not happen.

The English Channel is commanded by Britain to the north, France to the south. The Strait of Formosa is now Chinese as to both its shores; effectively like other waterways of the Far East, it is dominated by the American navy.

Bering Strait, which connects the Arctic and Pacific Oceans, is so difficult of access both by sea and from the interior that it seems unlikely to become of great military consequence.

Elements of Conflict

This is the present condition of the world's strategic waterways. Looking back over the list, the candid reader will find that few if any of them are likely to come, within the near future, under any form of international control. The mere fact that the U.S.S.R. is a land power seeking access to the high seas and that the other two principal powers of the world are sea-powers and trading powers, suggests the elements of the conflict which will arise at any such suggestion.

The international control of the world's waterways seems more likely to follow and result from a general settlement of the existing differences between the western powers and the Soviet Union, rather than to precede and contribute to such a settlement.

ous Fort Chanak. Opposite Gallipoli, it is at narrowest point of channel.

Old-style transportation and new on the Inter-American Highway. This happens to be Honduras, but the photographer-author, Adrian Williams (in the command car), had many such encounters along the Highway. In the middle distance is a mountain lumber camp. The new Highway is bringing not only Honduran mahogany but many other products closer to market.

INTER-AMERICAN HIGHWAY

Central Americans are getting around these days—on the Inter-American Highway. They cross borders hitherto virtually impregnable amid growing trade and cultural relations. Their only fear is that U.S. Congress criticism may stall the project. Here is an up-to-the-minute story of the Highway by Adrian Williams, photographer just back from a trip over the entire route.

STRETCHING miles from Laredo, Tex. to the Panama Canal Zone (see map), passing through seven countries and territory varying from coastal plains to rugged 11,000-foot-high mountain passes, the Inter-American Highway is now traversable in all weather over 80 per cent of the route. Only 10 per cent is impassable at all times.

I have just returned from a five months' trip by jeep and auto over the entire Highway—through Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama—and into the Canal Zone. At only three points was I forced to use a plane or railroad.

The Inter-American Highway, which with the Alcan Highway and the projected South American Highway will eventually traverse the two continents, has recognized military significance but its chief values are immeasurably greater. It has certainly fired the Latinos' imagination.

Avenida Roosevelt, main street of Managua, capital of Nicaragua, seen from the Presidential Palace. Managua, which was largely rebuilt after the disastrous 1931 earthquake, is one of the most modern Latin American cities of its size.

Construction work at 10,000 feet elevation, in Cos Rica, near San Isidro—now the southern base camp f highway construction in the Republic of Costa Ri

A bridge on the Inter-American Highway near Quetz tenango. This historic old city is the second mo important industrial and trading center in Guatema

A UN WORLD PICTURE STORY

By ADRIAN WILLIAMS

Wherever the road has been completed, travel, tourists and commercial facilities are being rapidly introduced.

Towns formerly isolated are enjoying the first taste of prosperity that communication with the outer world affords. People are becoming road-minded and broadened in their outlook. They can see how their neighbors live and they soon discover common interests.

Altogether, the Highway provides one of the most varied and scenic routes in the Western Hemisphere.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

INTER-AMERICAN HIGHWAY: *continued*

Scene in the Guatemalan village of Santiago. Its thatched huts are built of volcanic stone from the volcano Atitlán on whose slope it nestles, overlooking Lake Atitlán, bluest of all lakes.

Three gay young daughters of a prosperous coffee plantatio owner in El Salvador. Just for fun they have dressed up in Gu temalan costume and are playing the ever-popular marimb

Henequin-cutting in El Salvador. In depression days many plantations were abandoned, but henequin staged a comeback. Today the crop is used to make bags for El Salvador coffee.

Rites before an ancient image near Chichicastenango, in Gua temala. The Indians here, all descendants of the Mayans, are no Catholics, but they do not neglect their old mountain shrine

The women's market at Santiago, Guatemala, not far from the Inter-American Highway. Like many Guatemalan villages, this one has its own costume, and the beautiful Santiago women move with a majestic grace that shows it off to good advantage. It consists of a long red skirt, white huipal with purple stripes, red and blue fringed robozo and the famous "halo head band."

San Lorenzo, Honduras's only Pacific port. Shipping facilities are still very primitive, but the Inter-American Highway, which passes through the town, will soon speed their development.

Choluteca Bridge, the largest bridge in Central America—built at U.S. expense. Choluteca, 20 miles southeast of San Lorenzo, is one of the oldest and most famous Spanish cities.

Tegucigalpa, capital of Honduras—the only Central American capital not on the Inter-American Highway. It is easily reached by air and, not so easily, by the Honduras Inter-Oceanic Highway.

63,000,000

FORGOTTEN CUSTOMERS

By LADISLAS FARAGO

Britain's colonial empire of 40 *territories covering* 2,000,000 *square miles represents a great potential market. Even today, despite dollar shortages, a considerable trade is done between the U.S. and the territories. Here Ladislas Farago, chief of* UN World's *Washington Bureau, tells the story of this trade in another article of his series on purchasing missions in the U.S.*

ARE YOU interested in selling slide rules to Nigeria, hospital beds to Fiji, motion picture equipment to Seychelles, textile goods to Tanganyika? Or would you rather buy rubber from Malaya, sisal from East Africa, sugar from the West Indies? If you are a pioneer of international trade, with the spirit of Columbus hovering over you, there is no need to despair for lack of untapped areas on the world's business map.

There is, for example, an immense territory covering an aggregate area of over two million square miles in five continents that is wide open and as yet little touched by world trade. It is Britain's vast colonial empire of some 40 non-self-governing territories, stretching from the Americas around the world all the way to Tonga in the Western Pacific—the dwelling place of 63 million forgotten customers.

Tractors for Trinkets

These millions are just as eager for American goods and services as any people in the world. True, Nigeria and Fiji, Seychelles and Tanganyika are remote lands, hardly developed in the modern sense of the word.

Until recently trinkets rather than tractors attracted the imagination of agricultural workers in Basutoland. All the well-dressed man of Gambia needed for his Sunday best was a crude Japanese blanket of dubious color. But the days when the "luxury needs" of colonial peoples could have been met from just one counter of a 5-and-10 cent store are gone forever. World War II left its inevitable mark on the needs and tastes of these far-away customers. Were Mr. Rhodes to drop in on Northern Rhodesia these days he would find an astonishing degree of what the London Colonial Office proudly describes as "African achievement."

With hundreds of years to catch up and challenging tasks still ahead, Britain's colonial empire has nevertheless made surprising strides by the very efforts of the colonial peoples themselves.

Business via Washington

However, business with remote lands is bound to suffer from the unfamiliarity of the average exporter with places like the Leeward Islands or Sarawak or Nyasaland, and from the dreaded complexities which such trading seems to entail.

But there is a convenient short-cut. Until June 1946, this "short-cut," the British Colonial Supply Mission, a central purchasing agency in th United States, did most of the trad ing for Britain's colonies and protec torates. Heeding both tacit and ex plicit State Department hints tha trade should go through regular priv ate channels, the Colonial Suppl Mission has since been abolished. It functions were taken over by th North American Representative o the Crown Agents for the Colonies, subsidiary of the Colonial Office.

In the United States, the Crown Agents have their headquarters a 1800 K Street in Washington, D. C In a building housing innumerabl British offices, two simple rooms on the seventh floor are assigned to H J. Davies, the Crown Agents' North American representative. There is no a superfluous piece of furniture in those rooms, not an unnecessary ink pot—but the frugality of the environ ment does not seem to influence th efficiency of the little organization.

Davies is anxious to stress the re duced purchasing functions of hi office. Most of the trade that flowed through this office until the summe of 1946 is now channeled through private traders, in an effort to pro mote private enterprise. Even so, th very nature of colonial administra tion leaves considerable purchasing functions in Davies' hands. In th colonies, railways, shipping lines, re search institutions, hospitals, schools public works, power stations are mostly government-owned. They are largely dependent on American com modities and seek non-British markets for their goods to accumulate sorely needed exchange. Forty colonial gov ernments thus rely on Davies for their

Continued on page 41

This huge shovel in the Gold Coast, British West Africa, typifies the British colonies' need for mechanical equipment of all kinds. The picture presents a striking contrast — modern machinery used in cooperation with the primitive method of hauling stones in baskets.

uying and selling in the U. S. The merican steel shortage and the satu-ation of the American import market ake buying as difficult as selling.

It is, however, not so difficult to et those slide rules to Nigeria. If igeria wants them, it will contact ne proper American firms through avies, and if American exporters esire to create a new market for ide rules in Nigeria, they can de-end on the same intermediary. When nquiries from American exporters each the Crown Agents' representa-ve, they are usually referred to re-ional Chambers of Commerce which aintain efficient organizations to eal with both inquiries and actual ffers or orders.

rading Posts

Vith continuing progress the re-uirements of the inhabitants in-ease—not merely in quantity but in uality. Although today these areas ill represent secondary regions to ig business, the time is not far off hen they will occupy prominent arket positions and attract the at-ntion of the most discriminating xporters. To a large degree it is ithin the power of the American ex-orter to accelerate the process.

Today, colonial trade in terms of ollars and cents is not likely to at-act even the most enterprising merican business pioneer. For example, in 1944, Aden's total import from the United States amounted to only $630,267—of which $214,779 was Lend-Lease. The relatively huge imports of Ceylon, amounting to $73,910,875, consisted mostly of $67,696,025 Lend-Lease shipments.

But in a very real sense of the word, these Lend-Lease goods performed an important pioneering function. They paved the way for peacetime exports and thus represent an excellent investment.

Increased Trade of Peace

An outstanding example of war-time trade serving to invigorate peacetime business is provided by British East Africa (Kenya, Uganda, Nyasaland). In 1942, this part of the Colonial Empire imported American commodities valued at $14,810,000, approximately the annual prewar average. Subsequent war needs swelled imports to $35,447,000 by 1943, followed by a levelling-off to $24,154,935 in 1944. It was widely expected that postwar trade would drop below the prewar average—but current statistics reveal that it is more or less holding its own. It is expected to reach or even exceed $25,000,000 for the current year. Similarly, American postwar trade with Ceylon will not fall much below the wartime peak of 1944. It is expected to total from 50 to 60 million dollars in 1947.

The quality of this increased trade is more remarkable than its quantity. Prior to the war hardly any American-made machinery was sent to British East Africa. In 1944, however, wartime necessities required the importation of American machinery valued at more than $13,000,000—over 90 per cent of which was Lend-Lease.

Those machines by themselves are the sources of considerable postwar trade, not merely in spare parts and accessories but in the form of additional machinery. A market which was practically non-existent before the war now promises to yield considerable profits to American manufacturers and exporters once the increased demands can be met—and especially when the acute dollar shortage of those areas is alleviated.

Impediment to Trade

It is the dollar shortage from which the British Empire suffers in all its integral parts and, which, for the time being, represents the greatest impediment to American trade with the colonies. The acute economic emergency which holds all Britain in its grip works against primary American interests, if only by preventing a more rapid and extensive development of trade with the colonies.

However, the world cannot live half rich and half improverished. An equilibrium will have to be established and the colonies will undoubtedly profit from this move. Two-way trade with the United States will then be developed on a substantial scale—providing a market where in the past even British merchants feared to tread.

THE UNITED NATIONS

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL Deep tension prevailed in the office of the Secretary-General as the Balkan crisis failed of solution and the rift between East and West widened with the clash over Europe's reconstruction. As a result, Acting Secretary-General Adrian Pelt, of the Netherlands, was in frequent communication with Trygve Lie, taking a brief rest in Norway prior to the heavy tasks he will assume during the General Assembly in September. At the same time, Pelt, veteran of Geneva who is now head of the big UN Department of Conference and General Services, kept busy with preparation of material and documents for the coming Assembly.

Meanwhile, enthusiastic crowds greeted Lie's plane as it settled for a landing on the Gardemoen Airport outside Oslo early in July. At the old family summer home at Nesodden, a few miles down the beautiful Oslo fjord, the Secretary-General, with his wife and daughter Guri, took time out for swimming and fishing. However, much serious vacation-time work still confronted the S. G. as he studied the international outlook. From a simple human standpoint, the highspot of his vacation was the christening of a new grandchild, the two-months-old son of his eldest daughter, Mrs. Sissel Lie Bratz.

SECURITY COUNCIL TENSION

• All through the hot summer the UN Security Council, in its air-conditioned auditorium at Lake Success, debated in sessions hotter than the weather what to do about explosive situations in various parts of the world, from Greece, rocked by civil war; to Egypt, where British troops had worn out their welcome; to Indonesia, where the Dutch had started operations against the young Indonesian Republic. Simultaneously, a Commission of the Council continued to wrestle with the exasperating intricacies of atomic energy control.

• THE BALKAN DISPUTE. A Soviet veto of the U.S.-sponsored plan for promoting peace in the Balkans took the 11-man Council by some surprise and threw it into consternation on the afternoon of July 29. In a dramatic move following the vote by Gromyko, U.S. delegate Herschel V. Johnson angrily asked for immediate adjournment for a day, to give Council members a chance to consult their governments concerning the "very grave situation." Under the eyes of the startled summer visitors who spilled over into the la press gallery at the rear, the m bers of the Council silently withdi

The drama that came to a sh climax with the raising of Gromyk hand in negative vote, was provo by a recommendation from UN's l kan Investigating Commission t "for the purpose of restoring nor conditions along the frontiers" Greece, the Security Council nam small Commission (or Commissi er) to function in the area for a riod of at least two years.

Earlier, the Commission had tur in a majority report which in main appeared to substantiate Greek charges. However, Gromy backed by Poland and supported representatives of Albania, Yugo via and Bulgaria who appeared fore the Council, denounced the port as lacking in objectivity. He sisted that establishment of a c tinuing Balkan Commission to fu tion on either side of the Greek fr tier and to deal directly with g ernments would be an interfere with national sovereignties and, the extent that it assumed functi pertaining to the Security Coun a violation of the UN Charter.

In these circumstances, resista of the U.S.S.R. and the Eastern b

Balkan Sidelight: Unanimity of these smiles contrasted with bitter UN Balkan deba L. to r.: Vassili Dendramis, Greek envoy and UN Representative: Oscar Lange, P land, and Herschel V. Johnson, U.S., of Security Council; Jose Vilfan, Yugoslav

as to be expected when the U.S. introduced a long resolution or plan to implement the report. This called for Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania to re-establish friendly relations, and envisaged a UN Balkan Commission composed of "a representative of each of the nations members of the Security Council." During four weeks of debate, France and the smaller nations made frantic attempts to modify and amend the U.S. resolution to make it acceptable to the U.S.S.R. Certain of the delegates were privately worried by Article 4 of the resolution which provided for either confinement in camps or other places of detention of all refugees in the area or their repatriation to their country of origin only after arrangements with their governments. They were also worried because Article 4 prohibited political activity of refugees and thus seriously endangered or limited the right of asylum.

The U.S. Resolution was finally amended but the basic provisions remained the same. The vote on Article 4 showed eight affirmatives, with only Poland, Syria and the U.S.S.R. abstaining. The first paragraph of Article 6, which would have established a Balkan Commission as a subsidiary organ of the Security Council, got nine favorable ballots, with Poland voting against and the U.S.S.R. abstaining. But on the paragraphs of the same article which would have placed on the Balkan Commission all Security Council member nations, Australia, France, Poland and the U.S.S.R. abstained. France had earlier sought to introduce a modification which would have had the effect of eliminating the Big Five from the Commission.

When the article-by-article balloting had ended and the time came to vote adoption or rejection of the U.S. resolution as a whole, it was hoped and expected by many that the U.S.S.R. would at least abstain. The Soviet veto was then employed by Andrei Gromyko.

Two days later Greece made a new drastic demand for Security Council action, charging aggression in the meaning of Article 39 of the Charter and intimating that unless peace could be enforced by the UN, she would seek other defenses, by an appeal for direct help from those countries that are convinced of the righteousness of her cause.

Offstage Pleasantries: Egypt wants Britain out of the Sudan, yet opposing spokesmen enjoy a joke together. L. to r.: Sir Alexander Cadogan, UK.; Mahmoud Bey Fawzi and Mamdoh Bey Riaz, respectively, Egypt's UN Representative and Minister of Commerce.

• CRISIS IN INDONESIA. Meanwhile new trouble in Java and Sumatra demanded urgent Security Council action. On July 30, Jawaharlal Nehru of India called attention to the situation in Indonesia, where "during the last few days Dutch forces have embarked without warning on large scale military action against the Indonesian people."

India was immediately followed into action by Australia, which declared that "these hostilities constitute a breach of the peace under Article 39." Acting with breathless speed, the Security Council, which had spent eight months reaching a stalemate on the problem of strife in Greece, took just 24 hours to order the Netherlands and the Indonesian Republic to cease hostilities forthwith and settle their disputes by arbitration or other peaceful means. The U.S. and U.S.S.R. voted together affirmatively, and were joined by Brazil, China, Colombia, Poland, Syria and Australia. Though dissenting, Great Britain and France shunned use of the veto and abstained, as did Belgium. Word that the "cease fire" order had been given came promptly from both sides. This demonstrated beyond question that although the UN has as yet no police power, it does stand in a position to use strong diplomatic and economic pressure to ensure compliance.

• EGYPT COMPLAINS. Waiting its place on the agenda also was Egypt's demand for "total and immediate evacuation of British troops from Egypt, including the Sudan." The July 11 petition of Egypt to the UN set forth that Britain was seeking to avail herself of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, which "cannot bind Egypt any longer . . . being inconsistent with the Charter." Britain contends that the treaty is valid to 1956, and that British troops have left Egypt except for the Suez Canal zone. As for the Sudan, the issue is whether it now is part of Egypt, the joint British-Egyptian administration that began there in 1899 having been sup-

Continued on page 44

planted by British control after 1924. The Egyptians see "unjustified threats" in Britain's presence.

• ATOMIC CHASM. In the Atomic Energy Commission the U.S.S.R.'s proposals for atomic controls not only met with sharp rebuff, but revealed that the fundamental, to date unbridgable gulf between Soviet views and those of the Commission's majority still is there. The realization brought a sharp let-down. The crux of the argument is whether there shall be an international control Agency which actually operates and manages *all* atomic activities, or whether, to quote U. S. Deputy Representative Frederick H. Osborn's definition of the Russian plan, there shall be "continued control of atomic energy along national lines, plus a limited form of inspection."

Earlier agreement by the U.S.S.R.'s Gromyko on some of the proposed functions of an international agency, including research and "day-by-day" inspection, and on the principle of atomic energy quotas, had given hope that agreement on a central operating agency might eventually be reached, though stormy sessions were expected over the problem of punishment for violators. As the U.S.S.R.'s comprehensive plan for atomic control was rejected by the U. S., Canada, Belgium, China and Australia, Osbo declared he could "see no hope." P land's Dr. Ignacy Zlotowski retorte "It is our duty to reach an agre ment."

UN & WORLD WELFARE

The spectators who thronged dai this summer into the great hall Lake Success where the UN Econon ic and Social Council was holding i Fifth Session, must have had a sens of awe as they heard reports of co missions grappling with problems the daily bread, the welfare of hu dreds of millions around the glob

To the Council came reports fro the Economic Commission for E

NARCOTICS CONTROL—*A PATTERN*

WHEN the nations of the world reach the stage of abolishing war through absolute limitation of armaments to internal police requirements, they will find their best precedents in the work that has been accomplished, and the worldwide controls that have already been achieved, in respect to narcotics.

Curiously, only in the field of narcotics production, manufacture and traffic have ideas of "national sovereignty" definitely succumbed to the imperative worldwide public demand for effective international regulation. That "dope" regulation *is* effective, and that it supersedes national governments, even in cases where these may adopt a recalcitrant attitude, is an astonishing and significant fact today. Perhaps only in the narcotics field can something which might be described as the beginnings of effective world government be clearly recognized.

Narcotics control has passed through three classical stages, says Leon Steinig, chief of the Narcotics Division of the Social Department of UN. It first existed as an international political issue, which was lifted to the moral level by worldwide public opinion, and thence to the level of international administration. Steinig sees the same process at work in respect to armaments.

• THE GROWTH OF CONTROL. Following earlier ineffective attempts to set up international narcotics control, the first big step was taken in 1920, when the League set up an Opium Advisory Committee. In 1925 the "Geneva Convention," backed by universal demand, established the Permanent Central Opium Board, whose members were for the first time independent of the governments.

The Permanent Central Opium Board had broad functions to act for the nations in the control of the manufacture, sale and movement of all the known forms of dangerous drugs. The ratifying nations obligated themselves to report annually the quantities manufactured, consumed, stocks on hand, quantities exported and imported. The Board digested and published these figures, and if it found that any country was accumulating suspiciously large stocks, could recommend a drug embargo against the offender, covering both imports and exports.

But the year 1931 saw narcotics control acquire real teeth. In that year a new Convention was concluded, lin iting directly the manufacture an trade in narcotics, and reinforcin the Central Opium Board by addin a new enforcement mechanism in th form of an international Opium Su pervisory Body. The way in whic this supervisory group functions t day under the UN is the importan lesson in relation to arms control.

The Supervisory Body does mor than receive the reports and est mates of the governments on thei legitimate narcotics requirement production and manufacture. It pas es on these estimates and reduce quotas wherever it considers them to high. Moreover, if any country whether or not it has ratified th 1931 Convention, fails to furnish e timates of its needs, production, in ports and exports, the Supervisor Body, on the basis of worldwide su veys, proceeds to establish such est mates. And it can make its quot binding, by calling upon the signa tories to cease all narcotics traffic wit non-complying nations.

There are in the world 177 cou tries and territories, of which 67 a sovereign states. The 1931 Conve tion went into effect as soon as it ha been ratified by 25 countries—it ha

pe, and that for Asia and the Far ıst, each struggling to set on foot rehabilitation program.

The report of the Council's Eco-ɔmic and Employment Commission ought clashes over its suggestions at loans for military purposes ould not be approved, and that un-rdeveloped countries should be lped to economies of self-suffi-ency. Some speakers stressed eco-ɔmic *interdependence* as the world's ɔal. Said India's R. K. Nehru: "We ant cooperation, not dominance."

ALESTINE COMMITTEE

At the YMCA in Jerusalem during e first three weeks of July, eminent Jewish authorities appeared before the Special Committee of the UN General Assembly and offered formulas for solution of the complicated issues of Palestine. The British administration in Palestine was also heard in secret session. On July 22 the Committee moved to Beirut, Lebanon, and began hearings on the Arab side. They will also visit displaced persons camps in Europe.

The immense desire in Palestine to receive Jewish refugees from Central Europe was reflected in all the testimony at Jerusalem. Ben Gurion of the Jewish Agency urged the UN to set up an independent Jewish state despite Arab resistance; his view was largely supported by Orthodox and women's organizations. In sharp contrast, Dr. Judah Magnes of the Jewish Ihud (Union) Association, made a profound impression when he advocated: 1.—Continuance of the British mandate with eventual transfer of Palestine to the UN Trusteeship Council's supervision; 2.—A bi-national state, to be independent after a transition period; 3.—Jewish immigration to bring Jews to parity with Arabs, with immediate admission for 100,000 refugees. Magnes' bi-national views found substantial backing with the League for Jewish-Arab Rapprochement, as well as with the Palestine Communist Union.

FOR DISARMAMENT

ɔw been ratified by 65. But the Su-ervisory Body does not limit itself these 65; it has at all times ex-ted its authority over the entire 77—which is to say over the entire orld. Thus it represents the only ıternational control which, in its articular field, entirely supersedes l pretensions of national sovereign-. And this it does uniquely because of worldwide moral conviction that narcotics traffic *must be controlled.*

Careful studies of the analogies between the problem of the traffic in narcotic drugs and that of the trade in and manufacture of arms have been made since 1932, by League of Nations arms reduction experts, and more recently by the United Nations. Differences exist, but in general they suggest it would be still easier to apply similar controls to arms manufacture, and traffic in arms or in strategic materials, since these cannot be carried on clandestinely so readily as in the case of narcotics.

Narcotics Team: Four of the "dope" experts—l. to r.: Leon Steinig, Chief of UN Social Dept. Narcotics Div.; Col. C. H. L. Sharman, Canada, Chairman, Narcotics Commission; H. J. Anslinger, U. S.; H. L. May, President, Central Opium Board.

• A THREE-WAY PLAN. In general, arms control, like narcotics control, would appear to require the exercise through the UN of three administrative functions:

1) *Establishment of national quotas;*

2) *Supervision of programs of manufacture and trade;*

3) *Retrospective control of manufacture and trade for each past year, with measures to be taken where breaches of the regulations have occurred.*

Before such controls can be applied to arms, with the consequent abolishing of the war-making potential of individual states, the whole problem must be lifted out of the arena of international politics. This very transition appears to be in progress, however sluggishly and unsatisfactorily today. The process can be hastened under the dynamic urge of peace-loving peoples.

UN AND THE PEOPLE

THERE'S A YOU IN THE UN

By STERLING FISHER

With this issue, United Nations World *starts a regular new department—*UN Among the People. *Here you will find every month the latest reports of community activity in support of the UN throughout the U. S. We are happy to launch this new department with an article by Sterling Fisher, Mayor of Tarrytown and director of UN Affairs for the National Broadcasting Company, on UN Week, a nationwide tribute to the UN scheduled for Sept. 14-20.*

CYNICS say the United Nations is fumbling, that it is only a raucous and futile debating society, that it is likely to fail.

The weaknesses of the United Nations are cited as reasons why people should not get themselves too much involved in United Nations affairs, lest they be later chagrined by its failure and ultimate collapse. Such reasons were among those given as grounds for opposition, a year ago, when nationwide observances of a United Nations Week were first proposed by the American Association for the United Nations and the National Broadcasting Company.

But such widespread doubt and cynicism only proved the necessity for developing wider support among the people and of doing so with a speed and on a scale unmatched except in times of war. The "team" organized in 1946 to attempt so big a job 12 months ago comprised a radio network (NBC) having local outlets and contacts in 165 cities, and an association (A.A.U.N.) that could organize and coordinate the efforts of scores of major national organizations that have branches and chapters which could work with the NBC stations. Eventually, more than 80 great organizations came into this team in its first year, representing schools and churches, labor and industry, civic clubs and professions, with memberships totaling nearly one-fifth of the population of the U. S.

United Nations Week was fixed for September, around the date when the world organization was scheduled to convene its Assembly for the first time in New York. Working at top speed, the A.A.U.N. prepared many types of material for national distribution, including plays and pageants for groups, bibliographies, speeches for local use in towns and cities everywhere, plans for dinners, dances and conferences, directions for operating UN information booths and for preparation of window displays. Through the National Education Association, comprehensive programs for United Nations studies and for special assembly programs were distributed to thousands of schools.

Despite immense difficulties and many mishaps, including the unexpected postponement of the General Assembly opening to October, the general scheme met such a response all over the country as to show that people were hungry for such opportunities to show their support for the UN and to have some real share its activities.

On the radio end, NBC did the things:

1. Broadcast throughout the summer and fall five half-hour programs each week, designed to improve international understanding and create support for the UN in the struggles of its infancy.

2. With the aid of the A.A.U.N., conducted elaborate festivities in many of the major cities daily during UN Week. The most lavish of these, including choral group singing, folk-dancing and talks by distinguished UN officials, was held in Rockefeller Plaza in New York.

3. The Network produced, during that week, nearly 20 hours of special broadcasts devoted to the UN. In addition, it launched then a new and now permanent series of weekly broadcasts devoted entirely to UN affairs, titled "Your United Nations."

4. NBC and the Association staged a United Nations Concert by the NBC Symphony Orchestra, attended by nearly all the UN delegations, as well as a dinner, addressed by top UN officials.

Tarrytowns Lead 1947 UN We

Profiting from last year's experienc NBC and the Association have t year already enlisted more than 1 national organizations in the proj scheduled for Sept. 14-20 and ha broadened it to a much greater sco With more time available this ye they decided to create an "expe mental laboratory" in the form o community where, under direct pervision and observation by N and the Association, every techniq of developing community partici tion and support could be tried o

The community selected for t significant experiment is that of T rytown and North Tarrytown, miles north of New York City, on Hudson River—a community with population (18,000) representing cross-section of American life.

The Association drew up a 6-pa prospectus suggesting the absol maximum that might be achieved, conditions proved virtually ide This covers proposed activities UN Week in every phase of co

Sterling Fisher

unity life. The community chair-an, Sylvester J. Balassi, a local anker, has in three months so com-etely organized and inspired the hole community that it appears well n the road toward exceeding the deal" specifications of the A.A.U.N. he community is raising $12,000 to nance its local activities, which in-ude folk festivals, exhibits from all ie United Nations, parades, window isplays, scores of broadcasts over BC, special luncheons and dinners nd mass meetings, with world fig-es as speakers.

The program, with its slogan—There's a YoU in the United Na-ons"—has been printed and made vailable on request to all communi-es in the country. To encourage hers to follow the example of the Model Community," the Association as sent out to the Mayors of 1100 merican cities a letter signed joint-by the Mayors of the two Tarry-wns, explaining the project and en-osing a suggested form for a May-al proclamation of United Nations Veek.

Nowadays people of the Tarry-wns talk of little else than United ations Week and the part that they -all of them—are playing in it. hey feel a new sense of personal ossessiveness toward the United Na-ons. Their intense pride and tre-endous activity show that people erywhere will work as hard and evotedly to win peace as they will win war.

NOTES FROM THE GRASS ROOTS

ASIDE from preparations for UN Week, community activities throughout the U. S. on behalf of the UN are gathering pace. Highlights:

• In Dunkirk, N. Y., what began as a gesture of friendliness to Dunkerque, France, has now snowballed into the Dunkirk Society—"to show what people-to-people friendliness can really do." The 20,000 inhabitants of this upstate New York town, having dug deep to help France (they raised $75,000) and a few months later to aid Poland ($150,000 this time), began to smile at each other, and things kept happening.

Upshot to date has been a lead story in *Collier's;* a fund to launch the Dunkirk Society (aiming to promote friendliness and understanding among hundreds of small cities all over the world) and, as a by-product, much community goodwill. We hear talk that the new community spirit even helped the Alleghany-Ludlum Steel Company of Dunkirk and the CIO reach "the best contract in the steel business"!

• Greater Boundbrook, N. J., believes it was the first U. S. community officially to launch a UN Day—June 26, anniversary of the signing of the Charter. The affair was a great success, even though the committee, led by Sanford Van Syckel, Mayor Fetterly, Gerard B. Meynell, of the community's big American Cyanamid plant, and others, had only a week to whip up publicity. Highlight was a jam-packed rally at the Boundbrook High School at which Congressman Charles Eaton was chief speaker.

The event sparked an ever-widening interest in UN. One result is that next month the Boundbrook and Somerville Kiwanis Clubs will join the growing list of groups which are taking advantage of *UN World's* free all-day bus trip to Lake Success (only requirement—each passenger subscribes to *UNW*).

• The University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, is getting ready for a big week, Sept. 5-12, when the International Council of Women will hold its Triennial Conference in Houston Hall. This world-minded organization expects some 1200 women from 37 countries and 48 states. Among the features will be a *UN World* exhibit.

• Many communities have written in asking us for more facts about the Norwalk (Conn.) Plan, to which we gave a full page in our June issue. A leader of the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Lakewood, Ohio, suggested that such plans include a series of community discussions on world topics. His first choice: a discussion on Oil, with representatives of UN, the International Cooperative Oil Alliance and petroleum interests.

• We have prepared a neat brochure, "get closer to the UN," describing ways by which *UNW* can help *you*—as a community or organization—to promote the UN.

It may be had for the asking. Chief points: *UNW* will help you obtain speakers for meetings on the UN: to prepare programs in support of UN: or to prepare exhibits for such events. One of our latest requests for this brochure came from the American Association for the United Nations, N. J. Branch—for 50 copies to be sent to every chapter of the branch or to N. J. groups planning observance of UN Week.

• Little theaters and drama study clubs might well take a hint from the Putnam County Playhouse of Mahopac, N. Y., now in the midst of a successful International Season featuring plays in honor of eight of the United Nations—Britain, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Norway, the U.S., China, the U.S.S.R. and France. Since Mahopac is not too far from Lake Success, UN delegates or officials of the various countries have been going out to give brief talks about the UN before the curtain goes up.

★ *SEPTEMBER 1947*

CALENDAR OF WORLD EVENT

With Some Additional Information Culled from Calendars and Alm *All Over the*

DAYS OF THE MONTH, BIRTHS, DEATHS, MARRIAGES AND FESTIVALS	*IMPORTANT EVENTS*	*HISTORICAL ANNIVERSARIES NOTES, COMMENTS AND FORECASTS*
1. M. Labor Day, U.S. Independence Day, Lebanon	World Power Conf., Scheveningen, Holland **UN Information Center opens Moscow**	In all labor there is profit. *Old Test.* German troops invaded Poland (1939
2. T. Henry George born (1839) Eugene Field born (1850)	**ICAO* Cncl, Montreal; FAO# Comm. Chem. Forest Products, Appleton, Wis.**	V-J Day (1945) Fire of London started (1666)
3. W. Ivan Turgenev died (1883) Dorothy Maynor born (1910)	**ICAO Air Transport, Montreal** **ILO || Metal Trades Ind. Com., Stkhlm.**	Treaty of Paris (1783) Old cow thinks she was never calf. *Fr.*
4. T. Edward Grieg died (1907) Pindar born (518 B.C.)	**ICAO Air Navigation Com., Montreal** Int. Rheumatologists Congress, Copenhagen	Third French Republic established (Sobs (in dream) mean joyful news. *O. M*
5. F. Cardinal Richelieu b. (1585) Ales Hrdlicka died (1943)	Newcastle, NSW, Australia, 150th Anniv. Celeb. Int. Council of Women Conv., Philadelphia	1st Continental Cong. in Am., Phila. (Russo-Jap Peace Treaty signed (1905
6. S. Hiroshige died (1858) Lafayette born (1757)	Int'l Sample Fair, Strasbourg S. Eng. v. W. Indies—cricket, Hastings	September blow soft, Till the fruit's in the loft—*Eng. Prov.*
7. S. Independence Day, Brazil Queen Eliz., Eng., b. (1533)	International Trade Fair, Vienna French-English Athletics, Paris	Albanian League formed (1878) Tokyo, last Axis capital, occupied (19
8. M. National Day, Malta Anton Dvorak born (1841)	**ICAO Com. on ICA Conv., Montreal** **World Statist. Cong., Wash., D. C.**	Harvard College established (1636) Italy surrendered unconditionally (194
9. T. James Hilton born (1900) Wm. the Conqueror died (1087)	**UN General Assembly Comm. on Procedure and Organization, Lake Success**	Lawns resowed this month will get of grass with very few weeds. *Old Farr*
10. W. Arthur Compton born (1892) Pierre Lescot died (1578)	**ICAO Legal Committee, Brussels** Int. Biol. Photog. Exhib., Rochester, N. Y.	Barbara Fritchie defied Confederates (1 Quisling convicted of treason (1945)
11. T. David Ricardo died (1823) O. Henry born (1862)	**Bd. of Governors, Int. Bank, London** **Bd. of Gov's, Int. Mon. Fund, London**	A hair on head's worth 2 on brush. *Inf.* Jenny Lind's 1st U.S. concert (1850)
12. F. Occupation Day, Rhodesia H. L. Mencken born (1888)	**Int. Non-Govern'tal Orgs. Conf., Lake S.** Int. Sample Fair, Milan	Russians halted Nazis, Stalingrad (19 University of Havana founded (1721)
13. S. R. Grau San Martín b. (1887) Arnold Schonberg born (1874)	Boys' Rifle Shooting Champ'ship, Zurich International Sample Fair, Marseille	F'cast:—Ireland's wartime religious will no whit abate. *O. Moore's*
14. S. Duke of Wellington d. (1852) Jan Masaryk born (1886)	United Nations Week begins All-Ireland Gaelic Soccer Final, N. Y.	Gregorian cal. adptd. in Brit. & Am. (1 Locarno Treaties went into effect (192
15. M. Independence Day, Central Am. Rosh Hashanah	**FAO Stand. Adv. Com., Agric., Geneva** **FAO Stand. Adv. Com., Nutrit., Geneva**	1st balloon ascent in Britain (1784) Russia proclaimed a republic (1917)
16. T. Independence Day, Mexico Día del Carmen, Chile	**UN Gen'l Assembly, Lake Success** IATA Technical Comm., Nice	*Mayflower* pilgrims left Plymouth (162 Slavery ended in French possessions (
17. W. Constitution Day, U.S. Philip IV, Spain, d. (1665)	**ICAO Meteorological Div., Montreal** Machine Tool Show, Chicago	Aztec calendar stone disc., Mexico (Shawmut, Mass. renamed Boston (163
18. T. Independence Day, Chile Samuel Johnson b. (1709)	3rd Interamerican Travel Cong., B. Aires Gt. Charter Fair, St. Columbia, Cornwall	Quezon elected 1st Philip. Pres. (1935) Japan seized Mukden, Manchuria (193
19. F. Louis Kossuth born (1802) Henry III, France b. (1551)	Pig Fair, Buttevant, Eire Cattle Fair, Croom, Lim., Eire	Washington issued Farewell Address (Battle of Poitiers (1356)
20. S. Alex. the Great b. (356 B.C.) Robert Emmet exec. (1803)	Int. Fair, Ghent, Belgium Rugby Football, Selkirk, Scotland	Russian monarchy founded (862) Magellan began global voyage (1519)
21. S. H. G. Wells born (1866) Schopenhauer died (1860)	Students' Carnival, Ecuador Automobile Race, Lyon	Hurricane hit U.S. Atlantic coast (193 1st French Republic established (1792
22. M. Nathan Hale exec. (1776) Michael Faraday b. (1791)	**UNESCO† Comm. Schls. of Soc. Serv., Paris; Statis. Smplg. Sub-C., Lake S.**	Diet '47—Bad results will follow e more than 12 fried eggs at a sitting.
23. T. First Day of Autumn Euripedes born (480 B.C.)	**ICAO Airdromes Grd. Aids Div., Mont.** **Air Operations Com. on Temp., Paris**	Yellow River flooded 12 towns, China (1st baseball club founded, N. Y. (184
24. W. Yom Kippur Ismet Inönü born (1884)	Our Lady of Mercy Celeb., Peru Motorcycle Races, Scarborough, Brit.	F'cast—pink spinach will make its ap ance . . . Jr. will be tempted, just once!
25. T. Shostakovich born (1906) Wm. Faulkner born (1897)	Dyers & Colorists Society Cnf., Blackpool Marking Device Assoc. Mtg., Chicago	University of Mexico founded (1551) Balboa discovered the Pacific (1513)
26. F. Dominion Day, New Zealand T. S. Eliot born (1888)	Horse Races, Ascot Felldales Show, Eskdale, Cumberland	Most modern calendars mar the sweet sir ity of our lives by reminding us that ea
27. S. Independence Day, Syria Luiz, Port., wed Maria (1862)	Vintage Festival & Fair, Lugano, Switz. Fiesta, dances, Mérida, Yucatán	day that passes is the anniversary of perfectly uninteresting event. *Oscar*
28. S. Georges Clemenceau b. (1841) Herman Melville died (1891)	Int. College of Surgeons, Chicago St. Venceslas Harvest Celeb., Czech.	Warsaw surrendered to Nazis (1939) The Triple Alliance formed (1795)
29. M. Emile Zola died (1902) Winslow Homer died (1910)	U.S. Nat'l Business Show, N. Y. Commem. of founding, S. Miguel, Gto., Mex.	Volcano destroyed Guatemala City (17 Don't miss the county fair—*O. Farmer'*
30. T. Juan Rafael Mora exec. (1860) Rudolph Diesel died (1913)	Open salmon fishing season ends, Newf'dland Nat. Funeral Directors Assn. Mtg., Boston	House of Plantagenet got Eng. Crown (Munich Pact (1938)

* International Civil Aviation Organization
International Labor Organization
= Food and Agriculture Organization
† United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

A Tex- Rhodes ...lar, and ...rofes- sor of International Law at New York University, Clyde Eagleton was called in by the U.S. State Department to help work on the UN ter from 1943-1945. He served as As- nt Secretary at the Dumbarton Oaks ference; technical expert at the Com- ee of Jurists (revising the Statute of International Court of Justice in 1944) technical expert with the U.S. Delega- at the San Francisco Conference. As rman of the Steering Committee of the mission to Study the Organization of e, he supervises all its reports. Prof. eton is the author of the volumes: *Responsibility of States in International ... Analysis of the Problem of War, In- ational Government,* and *The Forces Shape Our Future.* His chief recreation wrestling with rocks" and performing killed labor" in his Connecticut hideout.

THE ONLY ROAD TO PEACE

By CLYDE EAGLETON

Because of the importance of international law, both in its present form and—as it is developed—as the potential foundation of peace, the United Nations World has asked Prof. Clyde Eagleton of New York University, an authority on the subject and former State Department official, to write a monthly column on the nature and future of international law and its application to current world problems. This article is the first of the series.

MONG all the important tasks which face humanity today, un- stionably the most important is development of international law of a legal order among nations. ning can be more pressing than need, for the simple reason that s prerequisite to everything else men wish to do.

accepted the invitation to write international law and on the titutional system of the United ons because of my belief that e is nothing more pressingly im- ant to the human being anywhere he world than international law. hat sounds startling, I hope my ers will read on and see if they not agree with me. I am well re—what international lawyer is —that to the average individual, rnational law is a faraway and erious subject, sometimes the et of mockery. I find little refer- to it even in the international thrillers. When I am introduced as an international lawyer, I anticipate a witty remark, such as—"Oh, is there such a thing as an international law?" or, from the practicing lawyer—"But is international law really law?"

The answer to these questions is: yes, there is an international law, and it is really law. But it is a weak and incomplete system of law because people who ask questions such as these make it weak. The peoples whom this law is supposed to serve, and who indeed anxiously demand such a law today, seem to think that it can grow without human support and even in the face of ridicule. In other words, if international law is no better than it is, this is the people's own fault. It is a situation not to be regarded as funny; it approaches too closely to tragedy.

I have no doubt that people as a whole regard law as essential in human society. They want it and they maintain it as a means of settling disputes and of providing justice without the necessity of recourse to force; they want it also as a positive means of advancing human welfare. Naturally, the average persons thinks in terms of the law of his own state, as applied to individuals, but, more recently, there has been a growing awareness of the need for law as between nations. Two World Wars and a great economic depression have taught the people of the United States, for instance, that their own nation, no matter how powerful it may be, cannot by itself protect them against modern war or against the economic loss coming to them through developments outside their own nation.

The same lesson has been learned by other nations. It has penetrated, too, deep into the minds of many world-minded individuals. The upshot is that *you*—the peoples of the world—have therefore sought, and now demand most urgently, an international legal order which can give the whole world protection. It was the realization of this need which pulled the American people out of a long-standing policy of isolation, and which led the nations of the world to

Continued on page 50

set up the League of Nations and now the United Nations.

I could cite many quotations, from many sources, to show this feeling; among the best, I think, was the speech which Secretary Byrnes made as he was retiring from office, from which I quote:

"The struggle for peace is the struggle for law and justice. It is a never-ending struggle. Law and justice can be developed and applied only through living institutions capable of life and growth. And the institutions must be backed by sufficient force to protect nations which abide by the law against nations which violate the law . . . So I believe that in the long run international peace depends upon our ability to develop a common law of nations which all nations can accept and which no nation can violate with impunity. . . ."

A common law of nations, backed by adequate authority—that is what we need, and what we now demand. We know that if we must prepare for another war, we must spend our money and submit to governmental control of our lives and industries, and that consequently we can not have the feeling of security, economic or physical, which would enable independent development of our separate abilities and personalities. We know, too, that the answer which human experience teaches us, with regard to the provision of security and justice and liberty in such a situation as now faces nations, is law and government.

International Law Today

International law as it now stands is far from sufficient to meet these needs, but it is a solid enough basis upon which to build further. No state has ever denied the existence of international law and no state has ever denied its obligation to observe this law. A state may of course violate the law, but the international law of peace has in practice been as well obeyed as the average domestic law.

Most people are perhaps not aware of this, since mere observance of law is not newsworthy, but states handle thousands of cases among themselves in accordance with the law of nations. They argue these cases in terms of law, or submit them to tribunals which decide according to law; they employ legal and judicial procedures; they accept and obey decisions.

The trouble with this law is its limited range; it does not cover the topics and issues which we most desire to have regulated by law. It has never brought war under control, or effectively declared the use of force among nations to be illegal. It has not solved our international economic problems. There is no legislature to make new international law and indeed there is no other way to make it which binds a state without the consent of that state. There are tribunals which can interpret the law, but they do not have compulsory jurisdiction (except over states which have agreed to this in advance); and of course there is no policeman to enforce the law.

Law is a human product; it does not just grow up by itself. It may grow, but only by human efforts. If the people of the world want a strong and effective international law, they must fight to get it and they must pay the price for it in limitations upon freedom of national action. It is human and natural to want a law which will stop Hitler or someone else and to oppose a law which limits one's own nation, or to want a law which will remove barriers set against your own country's trade by other nations and at the same time seek to keep your own tariffs. This is all natural enough, but it has not yet brought—and never will bring—the international law and order which the world needs. The advance of civilization—and of law—is measured in terms of the self-restraint imposed upon human beings by themselves.

UN—Basis of International Law

International law has never had this popular support; the League of Nations failed for lack of it; the United Nations starts off very weak for the same reason. But it is only through the United Nations that we can hope to build up a system of law and order among nations. If we the UN to be able to give us sec and justice, we must give to i necessity authority.

However poorly we may have the United Nations in the first p we cannot, as some impatient seem to wish, throw it away wit idea of building something bett was hard enough to induce the U States' people and the Soviet U to accept this much, and there sense in wrecking what we hav the unsubstantial hope of being to build something better. We build on what we have—the

To make the United Nations the efficient legal order which as world citizens, would like to will be a slow process because at proposed step forward, *you,* as viduals, must be called upon to s the question and to decide wh you are prepared to accept the tation upon your national sover ty which it necessarily involves. V out your support it cannot be Here, then, is why the constituti law of the United Nations is o portance to each individual, why must study and understand it.

If this column can help you, a individual in search of peace, in derstanding the constitutional p lems of the United Nations so you will be better prepared to these essential decisions, it wil worth while. It is in that hope t undertake it. I shall frequentl critical of the UN, or rather o inabilities which you impose up through your unwillingness to the price which must be paid in to get law and order establi among nations; but my purpose always be to explain its work and its limitations, to point ou difficulties, and to direct your a tion to improvements which might make in it. There will be interesting questions to discuss— trusteeship, human rights, and ot

In view of what has been above, it seems proper to inquire far the United Nations now co tutes a legal order, and this I sha in the next issue.

OR "FOREIGN AGENTS," DIAL REP. 8200

MBROSIA AT CHINESE EMBASSY

RGENTINA PROMOTES SPAIN AS UN MEMBER

IN Washington you dial Republic 8200 and ask for Extension 38, you are likely to be mystified a pleasant voice identifying itself "Foreign Agents." The number is t of the Department of Justice, last place in the United States ere one would expect foreign nts at large.

Iowever, the mystery is more mysious than real. Extension 1188 ongs to the Department's Foreign ents Registration Section, charged h listing all firms and individuals ng some paid chores for nonerican principals.

t is a genial government agency t thus functions behind this E. llips Oppenheim front. But most the "foreign agents" whose names ear in the Section's carefully t files are hardly reminiscent of racters from a Hollywood spy iller. They are respectable busis firms flourishing on internationrade, official government informa bureaus, or organizations repenting Cuban sugar or Brazilian ee.

Even so, the hectic course of conporary diplomacy has inevitably its mark on these "foreign nts." One of them, carried in the tion under Registration Number , could be seen at the elbow of bassador Hussein Ali of Iran en the envoy argued his country's e before the UN Security Council. is John Lord O'Brian, distinshed international lawyer and a mer candidate for the United tes Senate. Among his clients he nbers the Iranian Government.

Distinguished "Foreign Agents"

Major General William J. Donovan, America's beloved "spy-master" of World War II, himself has ended up as a registered "foreign agent"—with Number 365. Having played a major though clandestine role in the liberation of Siam, his law firm now represents the Bangkok Government.

A former Attorney General of the United States, Homer S. Cummings, now appears under Registration Number 259 as a "foreign agent" in the files of the Department he once headed. Cummings' firm, Cummings & Stanley, acts for the Dominican Republic, doubtless combatting the activities of Numbers 275, 279 and 286 — "foreign agents" registered *against* Trujillo.

Whoever would think of the venerable firm of corporation counsels, Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Sunderland & Kiendl, headed by John William Davis, once a Democratic candidate for the presidency and American ambassador to Great Britain, as "foreign agents"? But this is exactly how they are listed, acting on behalf of Great Britain and Denmark.

All these distinguished gentlemen appear on the list with self-appointed lobbyists pleading the cause of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia; with a group of revolutionaries opposed to the Somoza regime in Nicaragua; with the Arab Office and the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation; and public relations firms, such as that of Emil Hurja who is retained by the Egyptian Government. Hurja recently blossomed out in full-page advertisements in New York and Washington papers, discreetly describing himself as the "Committee for Unity of the Nile Valley" and calling on Americans to aid in ousting the British from Egypt and the Sudan, a kind of Paul Revere in reverse.

The U.S.S.R. has nine dossiers in the Foreign Agents Registration Section, including Amtorg, TASS, Artkino, Sovfoto and Inreklama. The two Yugoslav registrations reflect the split in the postwar politics of that country. Number 252 is an American newspaperman serving as a press officer with Tito's Embassy. Number 302 represents a potent anti-Tito spokesman. He is Constantin A. Fotitch, former Yugoslav ambassador.

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Diplomatic Hosts—the Koos

CHINESE DINNERS

So far as China is concerned, it seems that diplomacy, not the Chinese Army, has borrowed Napoleon's famous dictum and now marches on its stomach. At least Dr. Vi Kyuin Wellington Koo, Ambassador to the United States, appears to hold with de Callières, a 17th century French writer on diplomacy, that "an envoy's table should be served neatly, plentifully, and with taste." Two of Dr. Koo's distinguished colleagues in history, Talleyrand and Palmerston, were equally emphatic on this point. Palmerston insisted that "dining is the soul of diplomacy."

This hoary Victorian wise-crack is now revived to an anachronistic 20th century existence in the almost esoteric dinners and teas at "Twin Oaks" to which Dr. Koo and his wife, the former Hui-Lan Huang, invite Washington society.

The Lucullan munificence of dinners at the Koos' inspires society columnists to rapturous odes. One of them, with her tongue in cheek and the vapor of *Château d'Iquem* 1937 still on her tongue, recently wrote: "Masses of yellow roses in silver *épergnes*. Silver and ivory, crested with the Koo family's escutcheon. Silver plates; silver candelabra. Small engraved menus; a dinner of superb talent and choice—gold service for desert." In view of all this, some feel that the Ambassador's chef should have the rank of Counselor.

At a recent intimate party for 20, with the Belgian and Siamese Ambassadors in attendance, Madame Koo offered chilled melon, *crême de cresson* with *croutons*, brook trout grilled in butter with cucumbers and tomatoes, duck roasted with pineapples, lettuce salad imported from France, vanilla ice cream swathed with fresh strawberries. Her guests drank a rare vintage of *Château d'Iquem*, *Pommery* 1941, and *Château Talbot* 1934.

On another occasion, staged especially for the showing of some early photographs of the Generalissimo, Madame Koo's guests were treated to a cold buffet consisting of whole capons in aspic stuffed with *foie-gras*, sliced tongue in *glacé*, strawberries in chilled cream, giant black cherries in ice, crab cakes in Tartar sauce. Guests wallow in these epicurean repasts. Cynics sometimes compare them with the meager diet of the Chinese back home—1200 calories daily.

SPAIN—UN MEMBER?

A high Latin American diplomatic source has advised *United Nations World* that Argentina may sponsor Spain for membership in the United Nations during the forthcoming session of the General Assembly. Chancelleries of various Latin American countries have already been canvassed and several of them, notably El Salvador, Bolivia and Nicaragua, have indicated support.

The sponsorship plan is said to have originated in Buenos Aires rather than in Madrid and was broached to Generalissimo Francisco Franco by Dr. José Arce, chief Argentine delegate to the UN, during his recent visit to Europe.

The recommendation to the UN General Assembly would crown various overt and covert Argentine attempts to gain recognition for Franco Spain in scattered international organizations. The opening move of this maneuver was the formal Argentine proposal—rejected by a vote of 35 to 21—that Spain be invited to participate in the proceedings of the International Telecommunications Conference in Atlantic City.

While it is not expected that Argentina will succeed in gaining admittance for Spain to the UN, the move by itself is regarded as significant and potentially explosive. It is frankly designed to reopen the Spanish issue before UN—this time by a government friendly to Franco. Sponsors of the plan hope that the least they may accomplish will be a compromise leading to the cancellation of the UN recommendation against the maintenance of diplomatic relations between Spain and UN members.

GOVERNMENTS, THE PRESS—AND WORLD NEWS FREEDOM *continued*

"By way of example and warn therefore, I'll tell you what happ in the Old World where facilities adequate news exchange were available at a cost that the n papers which serve the people c afford. In such cases the governm took over, and having ample fi as well as owning the communica facilities, plus ulterior motives, governments sent their selfish pr ganda abroad for papers to p free of charge and called it n Exorbitant transmission rates, w dammed what could have bee pure stream of information, stoo no barrier to the ambitions of ernments to pollute the strea truthful international news."

Peril of Peacetime Censorshi

Finally, there is no doubt am any who truly believe in news dom that peacetime censorship n be forbidden.

I refer to this because a fundam tal misunderstanding was expose the discussions of the Sub-Com sion on Freedom of Information of the Press in its meetings in and June. The Russian member an attempt to provide that the World Conference should not dis peacetime censorship of news. contended that censorship was only against reporters whose patches were designed to create understanding between states.

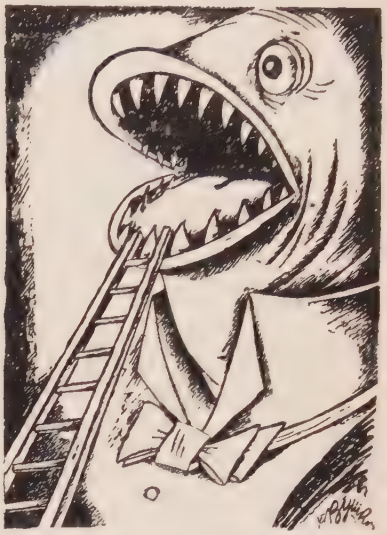
After extended debate, the Ph pine delegate offered an amendm This defined the objective of a press this way: the obligation to the truth without prejudice an help in the solution of world p lems through a free interchang information.

Let us trust that agreement be reached on the basis of w news freedom which the Philip delegate championed. Let us that the gains so far made not will be maintained but that gains will be carried forward.

POINTS OF VIEW . . .

A Selection of World Cartoons

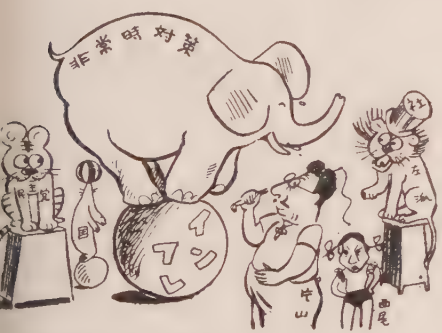
TALIN ABOLISHES CAPITAL PUNISHMENT
I can't use you as punishment any longer because any Russian
ill go to his death for me with enthusiasm."
AGBLADET, Oslo.



THE (WESTERN) BENEFACTOR
"Welcome to the parley on aid."
JEZ, Belgrade.

rope: "If I could get rid of all these things,
bird could feel at home with me" (Top to
ttom: Greece, oil, international capital).
DE PROVO, Prague.

BEHIND THE IRON FENCE
The new American fodder certainly looks good (Hens, l. to r.: France, Britain, Belgium; outside fence: Poland, Hungary, U.S.S.R.).
VERDENS GANG, Oslo.



TAYAMA'S CIRCUS
ease do good work," says Socialist Premier
ayama (Labels l. to r.: Tiger, Democracy;
l, Country; elephant, Emergency Measures;
l, Inflation; child, Party Secretary; lion,
tist parties).
ITAMA SHIMBUN, Saitama Prefecture.

WORLD PRESS

The month's highlights from the world press: Melbourne suggests the Dutch get a better definition of "police action" . . . Shanghai sees U.S. giving Japan an eyedropper dose of democracy . . . French conservatives favor welding the two worlds into one . . . Egypt sidesteps a possible British veto . . . Hungarians, Swiss, Finns all assay U.S. gold . . . Chilean rightists shudder at Pan-American cold shoulder to Nicaragua . . . Czechs say Germans have no guilt complex . . . Britons in Palestine just bad business for Jews says Tel-Aviv.

The Herald

The Melbourne *Herald,* condemning Netherlands' "police action" in Indonesia says that "world opinion and particularly opinion in the new states of Asia, does not accept the Dutch definition of this struggle as police action." The paper also reports that the leader of the federal opposition, Mr. Menzies, has called on the Australian Government to announce a clear and firm policy in the dispute. He wants the world to know that Australia sides with the Indonesian Republic.

The independent *Ta Kung Pao* (Shanghai) objects strongly to the increasing industrial production being permitted Japan, and says that General MacArthur "has merely given the cities a touch of democracy and has ignored the fact that the rural areas are still under the influence of militarism . . . To speak frankly, the aim of American interests in Japanese politics and in Japan's industry is to fulfill the requirements of American strategy, necessitated by differences between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. It is a pity that mankind's destiny is now in the hands of these two great powers. We urge them to sink their differences as soon as possible."

L'ÉPOQUE

Albert Mousset, in rightist *L'Epoque* of Paris, draws a balance sheet of the Soviet Union's latest diplomatic efforts. "No less than ten economic agreements either have been concluded or negotiated between the governments which are under Soviet influence . . . Moscow obviously wants to outstrip the western planners and show them that eastern economy can dispense with them . . . The two blocs never needed each other more than today . . . An autonomy of eastern Europe spells disaster for Germany and Austria which will be divided up between several systems."

Commenting on the protracted Anglo-Egyptian dispute brought before the United Nations, *Al Misri* of Cairo writes: "The Egyptian Government was careful to define the misunderstanding with Britain as a dispute and not as a case. Thus Britain cannot use her veto right." Egypt is trying to "unshackle herself of the 1899 and 1936 treaties, since they are incompatible with the Atlantic Charter . . . The Security Council's decision will . . . be the criterion by which the oriental nations will judge the degree to which the principle of true equality is instilled in UN members."

VILÁG

The liberal-democratic daily *Vilag* of Budapest publishes an interview with Count Mihaly Karolyi, once president of the short-lived Hungarian Republic of 1918. In his comments on the Marshall Plan Count Karolyi stated, "Europe . . . must be rebuilt, but the United States must understand that for this a European 'New Deal' is needed, a new deal . . . based on a new economic concept and not on the economic ideas of the 19th century." According to Karolyi, Hungary needs American aid most urgently, "but this assistance can have no political conditions." He emphasized that planned economy is indispensable to rebuilding of a new Europe.

Basler Nachrichten

The *Basler Nachrichten* praises the Swiss Government for accepting the Franco-British invitation despite Switzerland's traditional neutrality. "It becomes clear, that in order to conduct an active neutral policy, Switzerland must not neglect the opportunity which has been offered to he Switzerland cannot by herself enj healthy existence if all her neighbor sick with misery and despair." The suggests that Switzerland become eve mediator between West and East."

EL MERCURIO

The conservative *El Mercurio* of San de Chile, criticizes the Pan-American cision not to invite Nicaragua to the de Janeiro Conference on joint Hemisp Defense. *El Mercurio* maintains that "not fair to extend an invitation to guay . . . while Nicaragua has beer cluded from it." The conservative Ch daily thus echoes press comments Argentina and Brazil.

PRÁVO LIDU

In an interview reproduced in the *P Lidu* of Prague, Ambassador Dr. J Slavik, Czechoslovak envoy to the U States, surveyed the complex pictur U.S.-Czechoslovak relations. Asked the U.S. was losing its understandin Czechoslovakia's position, the Ambass replied: "Since the end of the war A ica has not regarded Germany as su danger as we have, living as we do in immediate neighborhood . . . We know the German nation has not changed that it has never acknowledged its gu

UUSI SUOMI

The Conservative *Uusi Suomi* of sinki reveals that the hopes of the Fin people remain aroused by the Mars Plan, despite Finland's decision to ref from participation in the preliminary ferences. "Marshall's offer," the paper tinues, "to aid all European countries vided the opportunity not only for the construction of individual economies also to sink the political disputes betw the Great Powers . . . Finland really need outside help without which, acc ing to experts, recovery seems almost im sible. It is hoped that international t will not suffer from the negative re

הארץ

The Tel Aviv daily, *Haaretz,* accuses Palestine government of ignoring the nomic interests of the Palestine Jewry. there is any moral right by which nation rules over another, it must be ba on mutual benefit. . . . Mr. Bevin . . . tivated Britain's interests in the Mi East by the maintenance of the Bri workingman's standard of living. He not, by a single word, refer to the b fits the inhabitants of those regions m derive from British rule. By ignoring question, Mr. Bevin has in fact questio the right of the British Empire to ex

VORLD RADIO

shes from the world radio: Moscow is marshalling its own nomic plan . . . New warmth between France and Italy lts Alpine snows, reveals common ground . . . Greek Governnt deplores apathy on the home front, while ELAS says it's ting for the people's cause . . . Czechs hear Sudeten Germans U.S. Zone are whispering revenge . . . Turkey scolds the herlands about Indonesia . . . Holland hears swell of pro- at home . . . Switzerland maintains its defenses . . . gentine views coincide with "true ideals of Mexico."

FRANCE

Paris, French Home Service: "Moscow is outdistancing Washington in the organization of Europe. spectacular reconciliation between Bel- e and Sofia, which some time ago d have seemed as unbelievable as a co-German alliance, has now taken e under the Kremlin's auspices. This esented the second stage of an am- us plan. The first consisted in the ements between Bucharest and Bel- e, and Bucharest and Sofia. This whole me is obviously meant to be carried at the expense of Greece. Those who hope to prevent the division of Eu- into two blocs do not seem to grasp real state of affairs."

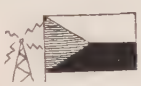
REAT BRITAIN

London, in Spanish to South America: "The French Government is carefully studying an Ital- plan for the integration of the econo- of the two countries. It proposes the installation in the Alpine regions ectricity generating plants to alleviate coal shortage, an exchange of machin- and raw materials and an increase of immigration of Italian workers to ce with the ultimate purpose of es- shing a Franco-Italian customs union. proposals are said to have been re- d with favor by the French Socialists."

NETHERLANDS

Huizen, in Dutch to Europe: "It is understandable that certain groups of the Netherlands people dis- with the Government's policy in In- sia. It is obvious that in a democratic try such as the Netherlands these ps have every opportunity to express views in public. A special protest meeting was, for example, organized in Amsterdam by a number of delegations from various youth organizations. Protests were also made by the Netherlands Women's Movement, the Netherlands-Indonesia Association, the organization Church and Peace, and the Christian Democratic People's Party."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA



Prague, in German to Europe: "A flood of pamphlets and a whispering campaign has been let loose on former Sudeten Germans now in the U.S. Zone in Germany, trying to make them believe that they would soon be returned to Czechoslovakia. They forget Conrad Henlein and the treacherous deeds (against Czech patriots) of hundreds of thousands of 'Sudeten enthusiasts' shouting 'We want to go home to the Reich.' . . . A pamphlet of the 'Committee for the Preservation of the Sudeten Territory' appealed to the resettlers to send protest letters to the Allied Control Commission, demanding their return to the 'homeland,' where their ancestors had lived for centuries and were loyal to every regime."

TURKEY

Ankara, Turkish Home Service: "It is distressing that Holland, so recently liberated from the Nazis, should now try to end the freedom and independence of another country. It is also very difficult to describe Holland's position as well-intentioned. Her attitude constitutes a contrast to the position of the U.S. which has liberated the Far East . . . It was possible for Holland to reach an agreement with Indonesia. There was no need to call upon arms. One should remember that Indonesia simply demands the right to self-administration."

GREECE

Athens, Greek Home Service: "The absence of the Greek women's contribution is as obvious now as is the struggle which the Greek soldiers are waging on the slopes and mountains where seven years ago they repelled and defeated another invader. The fact is that the home front fails to realize that there is a war on . . . We must frankly and boldly admit that in the present national crisis, the people at large have failed to show the spirit of abnegation . . . No single sign of enthusiasm to record! Not one manifestation of desire for self sacrifice!"

Radio Station of the "Democratic Army of Greece" (clandestine), in Greek to Greece: "During the years of the Nazi occupation, the Greek people underwent the greatest ordeals at the hands of the Fascist-Nazi invaders and local traitors. Amid the fire and mass extermination, it learned how to fight and safeguard its honor. No ELAS man ever died without being avenged. This is how the Greek Democratic Army is fighting today for freedom and independence. The soldiers of the Greek Democratic Army are gallantly giving their lives for the people's cause."

ARGENTINA

Buenos Aires, in Spanish to Argentina: "Mexico adhered to the Argentine declaration of international and internal peace. The Argentine Foreign Minister received a note from his Mexican colleague, Señor Jaime Torres Bodet. The latter said, 'The Government of Mexico cannot regard without satisfaction this coincidence between what Argentina thinks and the wish which has always been the true ideal of Mexico.'" (Note: According to the Mexican Radio, the Foreign Ministers of Panama, Bolivia and Peru have similarly lauded the Argentine proposal.)

SWITZERLAND

Schwarzenberg, in English to the United Kingdom: "After World War I anti-militarist tendencies made themselves felt in Swiss home affairs . . . The general opinion was that wars were a thing of the past. The Swiss Army was simply maintained, without development or improvement. The situation is quite different today. The birth of the UN has not aroused the same hopes as the League of Nations. The world lives in an atmosphere of mortal anxiety. Thus no one in Switzerland wants national defense neglected."

THE WORLD BOOKSHEL

LITERATURE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By F. C. WEISKOPF

A well known Czech novelist discusses writers and changing literary trends in postwar Czechoslovakia.

A PRISONER stepping out of a deep dungeon into the bright light of freedom needs some time to adjust himself to his new condition—and to a world that has greatly changed while he has not been in contact with it. This was the situation in which the literatures of Nazi-occupied European countries found themselves on liberation day.

Writers in Government Posts

In Czechoslovakia the writers have been consecrating most of their energies to the political and economic reconstruction of their country. Almost all writers of importance are holding office. Ivan Olbracht, first among the older novelists, is now chief of the radio department of the Ministry of Information. Vitezslav Nezval, whose poetical work can be compared to that of Rimbaud and Appollinaire, heads the film department. Frantisek Halas, another fine poet, directs the department of book publishing. Laco Novemesky, the most outstanding Slovak poet, is Minister of Education in the local government of Slovakia. Adolf Hoffmeister, writer and cartoonist, is in charge of intercultural relations. Writers are in top posts in the ministries of Foreign Trade and Foreign Affairs. One of them sighed recently: "All the writing we do at present consists in signing decrees and letters. Something must be done about it . . . but first we have to get through with the two-year plan of reconstruction."

Human Documents

Something certainly will be done to relieve these writers. In the meantime publishing houses are more than busy bringing out new books. Translations form a considerable part of the book output. Among the works of native authors, non-fiction prevails. Reports on concentration camps, on the underground, on war deaths of the Czechoslovak forces abroad are much in demand. Among these *documents humains* is *Report from the Gallows* by Julius Fucik. Written in the death cell of Pankrác prison, smuggled out of the prison by a warden connected with the underground, buried in a safe place and unearthed after the liberation, these notes of a fiery patriot and devoted revolutionary form a work of art both in style and in spiritual power.

The history of some of the books published under the Nazi occupation and now reissued, is strange indeed. *Makanna, Father of Miracles,* a torical novel about an Arabian rer, had been written by Jiri when he was hiding from the Ges Since the Nazis classified Weil as Aryan, no publishing house bring out his work. It appeared u the name of a friend while W suicide was officially announced. "dead" author survived the peri Nazi horror; the friend who len name to Weil's book died in a centration camp. The new editio *Makanna*, reissued under the aut real name, bears a dedication t dead friend.

New Books

Poetry, always the pride of letters, has presented its many re with slender yet charming vol by Seifert, Halas and Holan. A the widely read and acclaimed w of fiction are a Prague novel, *Dividing Line*, by Rezac (which will be available, in an English sion, to American readers); *Ad* a moving story of love and tra among the lumberjacks of the B mountains, by one of the prom young women authors, Glaza and a couple of Robin Hood tal the Slovak underground by Ka All the works published in exile been reprinted at home. Som

Continued on pag

have been heading best-seller

ie dark memories of a recent past
l with horrors still hover over
iterary scene. But Czech and Slo-
letters went through similar or-
in former times, surviving all
s and rising out of death torpors
ebirths, animated by the indom-
e yearning for freedom and love
fe so significant of the small Slav-
ations of Europe. On the eve of
leath, Julius Fucik, wrote in his
s: "I have loved life, and for its
ty I went to battle. . . . If you
ve that crying will wash away the
nkling of sorrow, weep for a
e. But don't feel sorry for me. I
lived for joy. I am dying for
You would do me wrong to set
ngel of sorrow over my grave."

BOOKS FROM EVERYWHERE

TERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

RNMENTS AND POLITICS ABROAD edited
oseph S. Roucek. New York, Funk &
nalls Co. $5.00.

ugh this book is primarily intended
new college textbook in comparative
nment classes, it will prove equally
l to the many clubs and independent
groups now planning courses in in-
tional affairs. The special feature of
RNMENTS AND POLITICS ABROAD is the
ion of the small countries of Central
Eastern Europe, the Scandinavian and
states, the British Dominions, Spain,
gal, Poland, Belgium, Holland and
America, usually ignored in the older
in the field of comparative govern-
Though the treatment is brief, the
sion of these countries, widens the
on and interpretation of "one world."

TIONARY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
. M. Hyamson. Washington, D. C.,
ic Affairs Press. $3.75.

sturdy little handbook deserves a
on the desks of lecturers, editors and
alists who need to keep on their toes
current affairs. Here they will find
act information on almost everything
ternational interest from the Aaland
ls to Zionism; material on countries,
ies, treaties and the United Nations;
on minerals, agriculture and indus-
and, picked at random, on such sub-
as the Arab League, oil in the Middle
the Anschluss, Pakistan and the Cha-
ispute. For the most part the con-
d material is trustworthy and objec-
Where it leans a bit to one side, the
's British.

EUROPE

REPORT ON THE GERMANS by W. L. White, New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co. $3.00.

REPORT ON THE GERMANS is a misleading title. One expects from it a much more thorough and objective investigation than the book offers. Instead, it seems shaped in advance by opinions and reactions long held by the author. In 1939 he visited Germany "to find out something about the German mind and what had happened to it behind the propaganda curtain." He revealed distaste for the growing totalitarianism, but he was "naturally surprised" to find that the "comparatively 'mild' anti-Jewish policy was strongly disapproved by about 70 per cent of the people." White went off to the Finnish war feeling that Hitler was the creation of the Versailles Treaty and the Allies and pitying rather than blaming the German masses in Hitler's power. He says, "I believed this fervently in 1939, and . . . most of it I still believe."

In 1939 White felt he "had known and understood" the Germans. In 1946 he returned to discover "what had happened to their thinking since 1939." Through his old liberal friend Schultz and two or three hired scouts, he got interviews, directly or indirectly, with Germans in various walks of life. These are all presented in the first person and may be real enough. But the individuals telling the stories seem artificial and typed, and the nearest White got to a Nazi was in interviewing an "unreconstructed" German. One is not convinced that White's Germans are telling the whole truth about their "thinking" or that the great majority indicated were in total ignorance of the concentration camps, the crematories and the mass murders. In his conclusion White minimizes German responsibility for the Hitler phenomenon. "If we permit a free and democratic Germany to emerge from the present chaos," he says, the Germans "will look back on Hitler as a madman." If the 1919 mistake is repeated, White predicts that there is no telling what the Germans will think of Hitler in 1957.

NUREMBERG DIARY by G. M. Gilbert, New York, Farrar, Straus. $5.00.

Dr. Gilbert has given the oft-discussed Nuremberg theme a new slant. As prison psychiatrist he had daily contact with the prisoners, and kept copious notes regarding their mental condition. He portrays them with all their frailties, divested of the folderol with which these high Nazi officials usually surrounded themselves. One of the most interesting chapters is a comparison of the I.Q.'s of these top Nazis, and Goering's deep disappointment at not heading the list. All were in the above-average group. Schacht was the highest with an I.Q. of 143. Goering's contempt for the proceedings and his determination to cheat the hangman, Frank's and von Schirach's remorse and religious conversion, Speer's bitterness, Keitel's spinelessness and the reactions of the others offer a revealing insight into Nazi psychology.

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BOOKS FROM EVERYWHERE

continued

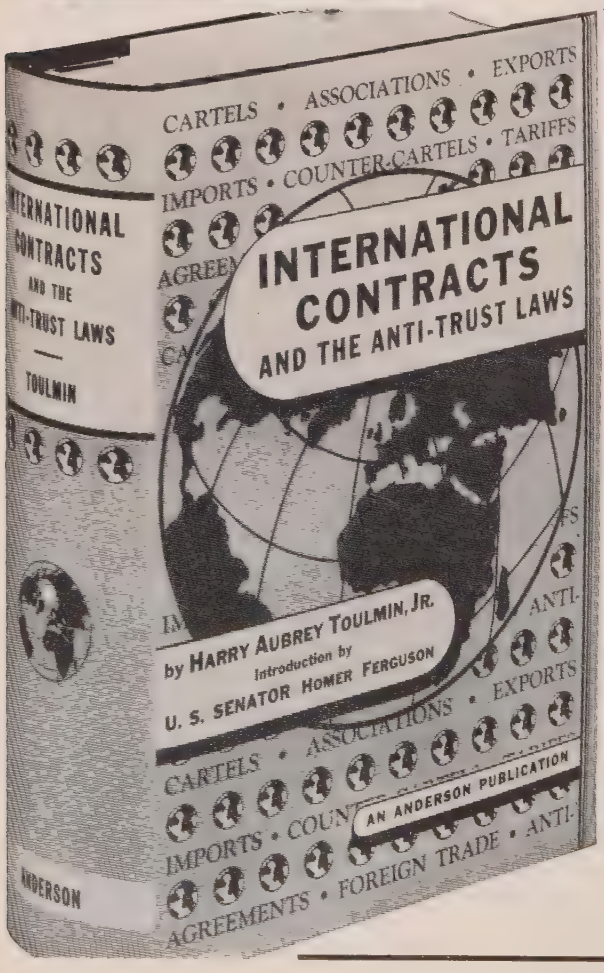
AMERICAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN GERMANY by Harold Zink. New York, Macmillan. $4.00.

Newspaper correspondents and other observers in Germany have frequently criticized military government in the American zone for lack of policy and long-range vision, failure to recognize vital matters and to understand the Germans—in short, for falling down on the job. Harold Zink, professor of political science at Del'auw University and himself in the service of military government from 1943 to 1945, deals objectively in this book with every phase of the situation. He too, is highly critical of the mistakes and failures of AMG, but he explains the reasons for many of them. In the author's words: "Perhaps the most serious weakness at the Washington end is the lack of any single center of responsibility." In spite of the many handicaps, increased by fundamental deficiencies in the organization itself, Zink has genuine praise for the hard work put in by specially qualified members of the staff in taking care of routine problems and making some advance toward long-range objectives.

With matters likely to come to a showdown soon in the four zones into which Germany has been carved, the a of AMG demand the intelligent a of readers concerned for the pea though much of the material in t dealing with structure and orga makes tedious reading, the surve the whole timely and instructive.

IG FARBEN by Richard Sasuly. Ne Boni & Gaer. $3.00.

As head of the Intelligence and Section of the Finance Division Allied Control Council, Richard had ample opportunity for inves and observation of the record personnel of Germany's IG Farb greatest concentration of cartels tablished. In a penetrating yet p written study he traces its histo uncovers the economic Colossus bel political events and trends which m last war possible. He points out th cles which even today are spread t out the world controlling produc some of our most important com —chemicals, steel, oil and aluminum others. He describes the internati pionage network masquerading un guise of respectable business wh isted not only before and during t but which continues even now. Th is a courageous *exposé* of the used by certain unscrupulous big combines to enrich themselves at pense of human life, and a warnin peace-loving governments to root cartel.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INTERNATIONAL CONTRACTS AND THE ANTI-TRUST LAWS
TOULMIN
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BUSINESS WEEK, in its issue of May 10, 1947, sai "American businessmen trying their wings for the fi time in vast new international ventures should not without [this] new Lexicon on Contracts, written by international lawyer."

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NETHERLANDS IN A CHANGING WORLD
art Landheer. New York, Roy Pub-
rs. $3.00.

Landheer's treatment of Holland has
'world viewpoint." Significant is the
re he traces of Holland's European
throughout the centuries. Tradition-
the Dutch were persuaded that "a
ce of power in Europe was the per-
nt condition of Holland's existence."
aligned her with Great Britain, but
permitted her to build strong ties
iendship with France, though never
e point of supporting a French hege-
. Awareness of the menace of pan-
anism was felt in Holland, the au-
thinks, by the turn of the century
even before, and he shows his coun-
en at all times resolved to withstand
an arrogance if their territory should
vaded.

lland's present position in the world
heer sees as a natural outgrowth of
raditional thinking, though vastly mod-
by the actual world situation. So
nd's foreign policy today is described
aving three main purposes: 1) main-
ce of an independent national ex-
ce; 2) assistance in bringing about
ting peace; 3) collaboration in the
ion of an efficient international legal
ization and of an international so-
and economic organization.

e book traces in detail the difficult
ar situation in the Netherlands East
s, which the Dutch feel has been
understood by the outside world.
full text of the Dutch-Indonesian
Agreement is published as an appendix
to the book.

UNITED STATES

HAWAII, The 49th State, by Blake Clark. New York, Doubleday & Co. $3.50.

The bill to admit Hawaii to statehood passed the House by a sound majority on June 30. There is a good chance that the Senate will act favorably next year, thus ending the long struggle of the islanders, who have pleaded for admission at least thirteen times since 1900. HAWAII, THE 49TH STATE, by the author of *Remember Pearl Harbor* comes out therefore at a purposefully strategic moment. Blake Clark writes lightly and with unlimited enthusiasm for the islands and the islanders of all races. The picturesque earlier history is highlighted in anecdotal fashion, with tales both gay and tragic of Hawaiian kings and queens. The days of the whaling ships and the first missionaries are vividly and humorously presented. How western penetration has destroyed the old Hawaiian culture is, however, completely ignored.

Mostly the emphasis is placed on Hawaii as a racial paradise, on its pleasant way of life, and very earnestly on the loyalty and cooperation of the AJA (Americans of Japanese ancestry) during the war. Particularly revealing is Clark's withering and detailed attack on the Army's ruthless military administration of civil justice, stubbornly fought by the islanders until 1945, when it was declared illegal by the U.S. Supreme Court. Directly and between the lines, the book is a vigorous plea for Hawaii's statehood.

U.S.S.R.

THE YEAR OF STALINGRAD by Alexander Werth. New York, Alfred A. Knopf. $5.00.

Alexander Werth has again proved to be one of the best reporters of our times in this long, carefully substantiated and highly descriptive study of the Russian people during their hour of stress just before and during the dark days of Stalingrad. The book constantly shifts from

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harter of the United Nations
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eland M. Goodrich
and Edvard Hambro

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TRUDY DREIFUYUSHCHEI STANTSII "SEVERNY POLYUS" **(Papers of the North Pole Drifting Station). Moscow, Publishing House of the Chief Administration of the Northern Sea Route. $12.00.**

These are the long-awaited reports on the scientific observations made during the so-called "drifting expedition" to the Arctic organized by the Administration of the Northern Sea Route in 1937-38. The two-volume work contains articles by E. K. Fyodorov, a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and Dr. B. L. Dzerdzeyevsky of the Physico-Mathematical Institute. Describing the meteorological instruments used during the observations, the organization of the station's meteorological service and atmospheric conditions in the Central Polar Basin, it is the most comprehensive monograph on meteorological conditions in the region.

ASIA

HOUSEBOY IN INDIA **by Twan Yang. With sketches by the author. New York, John Day—An Asia Book. $2.75.**

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Born in Kalimpong, northeast India, of a Chinese father and a Tibetan mother, Twan Yang was orphaned at seven, adopted and cruelly treated by a Chinese family in the town. At the age of twelve, he was practically sold to a Sikh merchant from the Punjab. From then on follow a variety of jobs and vivid descriptions of his masters and mistresses. His great good fortune was to be hired in Calcutta by the distinguished Dutch scholar, Johan Van Manen, who treated him more like a son than a servant. Through Van Manen he learned English and many deeper things of life. "It was as if my mind was really born from that time." And urged by his master, he set down the experiences and thoughts which were woven into this fascinating book, with its humor and
dies and the revelation of the gr
a personality.

PALESTINE, **A Study of Jewish, Ar
British Policies. Published for t
Foundation for Palestine. New
Yale University Press. Two Vols.**

This monumental work is not exac
tisan in its comprehensive covera
the same time it cannot be co
wholly objective in approach, since
financed by private Jewish funds a
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some of them, such as Dr. Gusta
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Arabic studies. Two notable C
friends of the Jews in Palestine a
tribute, Professor W. F. Albright o
Hopkins and James G. McDonald
Foreign Policy Association. The
heavily documented and provided
extensive bibliography, a 100-page
and a map in three sections, adds
ly to the sum total of information
pressing Palestine problem. But it i
to specialists and those who are
investigating the whole situation fo
lution, not to the general reading

THERE AND THEN **by Christine
Illustrated by her brother, Geo
Goutiere. New York, Charles Scr
Sons. $2.50.**

In these short stories the author
digo recreates incidents of her child
India and tells again through the
years strange tales heard from the
and the villagers, which must hav
an indelible impression on her youn
She writes with a disarming simplic
one is haunted long afterward by th
ity, sensitiveness and quiet strength
stories, many of them so slight of st
that a breath of wind would seem
to blow them away. How can one
three-year old Kulloo and his mud
the boy who was afraid of the tig
night hunt for the Atlas moth, the
gar who guarded the mango grove?
the lighter side, Aunt Eva and the
and Ian Short, "infernal little
Walking hand in hand with he
brother, the author discovered an
denied to most adults—an India of
and mystery and nobility. In these
stories Christine Weston has evoked
forgettable atmosphere.

LATIN AMERICA

THE PAGEANT OF MIDDLE AMERICAN H
**by Anne Merriman Peck. New
Longmans Green and Co. $4.00.**

This time Mrs. Peck, who has
written about the "pageant" of the
of several countries, writes about
Panama and Central America. She
not only of events, but of the con
explorers, soldiers of fortune, sain
villains who made the history o
countries so colorful and exciting fr
Conquest days to the present. She
of the struggle for freedom out o

) and the five Central American re- were eventually born, and of the est period of all—the days since in- lence. Theirs is the tragedy of pyg- living in the neighborhood of a giant. All except Costa Rica are a tough time nowadays. Beset by y, ill-health and illiteracy, two— ras and Nicaragua—are ruled by rs, and the others have only re- set out on the path of democracy. Peck adds nothing new to the infor- already available on these coun- especially on Mexico, but she retells story effectively.

OTE THE REBEL by Luis Perez. Illus- by Leo Politi. New York, Henry and Co. $2.75.

s the story of a reluctant revolu- r. Luis Perez, "el Coyote," was the st soldier in Mexico. He was only when he put on a uniform that was g for him and shouldered a gun, to get out of jail. From then on ived through a series of almost in- le adventures that would curl the f a much older veteran. But in the verything came out all right; Luis o school and got himself a good edu- just as his grandfather had wanted do. Now a U. S. citizen, he lives in rnia, where he is a teacher of Span- d a writer. Fantastic though his story eem, it has much charm.

AFRICA

PIA UNDER HAILE SELASSIE by Chris- Sandford. London, J. M. Dent & Ltd. $2.10.

e is a book about Ethiopia by an "in- dent witness" who lived in a thatched nudded" farm house near Addis Ab- rom 1920 to 1935 and again since and whose husband, Brigadier D. A. ord, led the Ethiopian patriots in struggle for freedom from Italian ation. It is a well-rounded, for the part impersonal, account of geogra- istory, social and economic condi- with the emphasis on Haile Selassie's effort to modernize this feulal land diverse peoples who speak over 30 nt languages and cling to their an- ways, including slavery. Now and bit of personal anecdote creeps in g your piano with you," read one invitation in 1920, so the Sanfords ith the help of ever-willing Ethiop- *ragies)*; and the narrative, although ned, conveys an undertone of warm tion for the man who, starting as Mohonnem, became Regent, then then Emperor, and then an exile ng from London as the Italians rav- is country and undid his work—un- last, with victory, he could return in again.

(*Continued from page* 15)

the Republic's own primacy amongst the component parts (the Republican areas include about 85 per cent of the total population of the Indonesian archipelago, and before the war, Java and Samatra accounted for 85-90 per cent of the trade and economic wealth), nor her position as co-sponsor of the U.S.I.

An Expensive Business

When the Dutch Commission and the Indonesian delegation took up the work of implementing the Agreement after March 25, although individual points were settled and details disposed of, it became more and more evident that the basic cleavage between them was not narrowing. Under these conditions, the Dutch attitude became stronger, and Dutch proposals began to take the form of ultimata rather than suggestions. Indonesian delay had something to do with bringing about this change in Dutch policy, but the economic plight of the Dutch was the decisive factor. The expenditure of over one million dollars per day to maintain armed forces in Indonesia was almost bankrupting the Dutch. No appreciable resumption of trade had taken place. Dutch dollar balances in the United States were critically low. The Indonesians could afford to deliberate, delay and wait. The Dutch could not.

Regardless of initial Dutch advances, it is doubtful that hostilities in Indonesia would of themselves have ended quickly or decisively. The Indonesians have a trained force of 150,000 troops in Java and over 50,000 troops in Sumatra, sufficiently armed to prosecute a long and costly guerrilla war. These troops have been schooled in the tactic of breaking up into small local bands, and they had the advantage of a hilly terrain, abounding in thick jungle and natural hideouts. The Dutch probably could have held the important cities and ports in Java, but not Java itself. UN's successful insistence on the cease-fire order has been of great benefit to all concerned.

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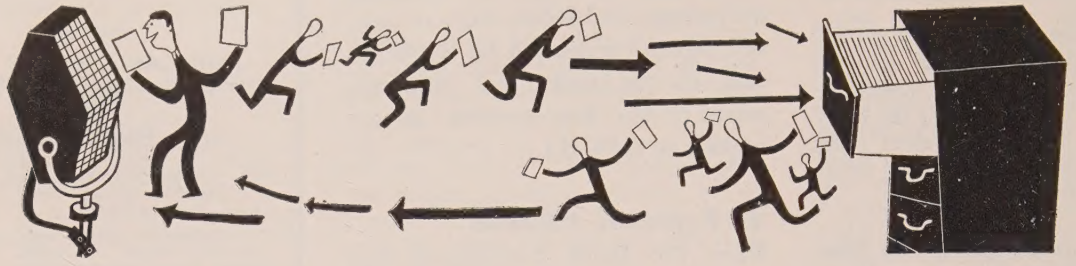

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153:47 Exchange of Notes U. S.-Britain and Rumania

June 25, Washington to Bucharest

Charges violation of Article 3 of the peace treaty through deprivation of Rumanians of civil rights "by or with the acquiescence of the Rumanian authorities."

June 25, London to Bucharest

1. Protests against the Rumanian Government's treatment of political opposition.

July 12, Bucharest to Washington and London

Rumanian Government rejected the U. S. and British notes as constituting interference in her internal affairs.

154:47 U. S.-Austrian Pact

June 25, Washington

1. U. S. to provide Austria with $100,000,000 relief.

2. Supplies not to be diverted to Austrian armed forces, or any occupation troops.

3. Supplies to be marked with source of origin, and proper publicity to be given and U. S. press to be permitted to report on relief distribution.

5. Detailed procedure for supervising outlays. Those who can will pay for supplies.

155:47 Chinese Note to U.S.R.R. on Kwantung Peninsula

June 25, Nanking

1. Protests Soviet refusal to permit establishment of Chinese authority in Dairen and Port Arthur areas.

2. Details repeated refusals of Soviet Government to permit stationing of Chinese troops in the area.

3. Protests formation of strongly armed forces by Chinese Communists in the vicinity "to hinder the take-over of these regions by the Chinese Government."

156:47 U. S.-Swedish Trade Pact

June 25, Washington

1. Sweden will grant import licenses for numerous unrestricted commodities between Jan. 1, 1947 and June 30, 1948. for an amount equivalent to not less than 150% of the volume of like imports from the U. S. during 1946.

157:47 Atomic Scientists Warn the World

June 29, Princeton

1. No progress has been made in the control of the atom since the issuance of warning a year ago.

2. UN has been granted inadequate powers and has been by-passed on "matters of primary importance. Militarism is rampant throughout world."

3. "Once stockpiles of atomic bombs have been accumulated by two national blocs of a divided world, it will no longer be possible to maintain peace."

158:47 British Note to Bulgaria Re: Curbing of Press

July 1, London

Charged that suppression of opposition press is against terms of peace treaty. Rejected as unsatisfactory Bulgarian explanation.

159:47 Yugoslav Note to Britain

July 1, London

1. Protests unauthorized flights by British aircraft over Yugoslav territory, and tests "other incidents which have occu in the recent past along the Yug Austrian frontier."

160:47 New Zealand-French Trade Pact

July 2, Wellington

1. Five-year agreement in which Zealand places 5,000,000 pounds ($20 000) credit in London at disposa France to purchase New Zealand con ities, chiefly wool.

161:47 Anglo-Egyptian Economic Agreement

July 2, London

1. Effective July 14, 1947; Egypt to sterling bloc; agreement to cover s half of 1947 and may be extended; vides means for settling sterling bal

162:47 U. S.-Italian Pact

July 4, Rome

1. U. S. to provide $100,000,000— 000,000 aid to Italy.

2. American press to be permitt report on distribution and use of sup

163:47 Polish Executive Giv Legislative Powers

July 5, Warsaw

The Polish Parliament granted the Executive Council the right to issue de making laws immediately effective, su however, to approval at its next sessi

164:47 U. S. to Pay to Sca navian Shipping Claims

July 5, New York

State Department, announced that would pay Denmark, approximately 000,000 and Finland and Norway, ap mately $5,000,000 to cover ships taker and used during the war.

165:47 New Venezuelan Constitution

July 5, Caracas

1. Liberal in construction, roughly terns that of U. S. Guarantees labor and a fair return for capital.

47 Truman Statement and net Group Report on Food

, Washington

ruman: "To meet urgent needs nearly 18½ million long tons of and other food were exported by the in the year ending June 30, 1947. is the largest total of food ever d from one country in a single year."

roup Findings: Prime need is grain. on is deteriorating abroad, and more s needed.

47 Peron in Broadcast ges Aid to War ged Countries

, Buenos Aires

rgentina will work with peace loving ies for assistance "to achieve the and spiritual rehabilitation of Eu- facilitating the material and economic litation of all suffering nations."

eks "eradication of capitalistic and arian extremism, whether of the or of the Left."

47 India Limits Capital sfers Abroad

, New Delhi

Decree prohibits large remittances of l to sterling area countries and limits ly private remittances to $1,000.

47 Truman Message to gress on D.P.'s

7, Washington

'We should admit a substantial num- s immigrants."

'These displaced persons are hardy A survey of the occupational back- ds . . . shows a wide variety of pro- ns, crafts and skills . . . They are not unists and oppose communism."

e: IRO received final ratification on l. The Stratton and Fergusson bills g for admission of 400,000 D.P.'s are pending in U. S. Congress.

47 Soviet Note to 14 Nations Marshall Plan Conference

8, Moscow

Soviet viewed conference without con- e because it felt an agreement un- n to the U.S.S.R. had been reached itain and France with the U. S. before ning of Paris Conference and because ambiguity of the credits.

Despite lack of concrete information, urges a master economic program be n up for Europe stating how the as- f European countries, as well as U.S. should be used.

The U.S.S.R. considers this interfer- in the internal affairs of European ries, forcing them to be dependent on nterests of U.S.

The U.S.S.R. proposes that first there d be an elucidation by the U.S., sec- countries should be asked their needs, ast of all, a plan promulgated.

5. Because of the vast difference in views between the British and French and the U.S.S.R., it is impossible to reach an agreement.

171:47 Belgian Note Re: U. S. and Britain on Bretton Woods

July 8, Geneva

1. Note to UN Economic Commission on Europe charges violation of agreement in regard to commercial relations with Germany. Blames the "number and complication of the formalities which have to be undergone before a commercial transaction can be concluded" for low level of Belgian trade exchanges with Germany.

172:47 Argentina Cancels Entry Curbs on Foreign Capital

July 8, Buenos Aires

The Central Bank removed all restrictions "obstructing the incorporation of foreign capital into the national economy." Placed restrictions and established control over export of capital.

173:47 U.S.S.R.-Czech Pact

July 9, Prague

1. Mutual exchange of goods for five years, on definite quotas to be settled each year by agreement.

174:47 Mexico Limits Imports

July 10, Mexico City

1. Places embargo on import of luxury items and higher import duties on other items to conserve dollar balance. It is hoped by this measure to correct the unfavorable balance of trade with the U.S.

175:47 Argentine-Chile Nitrate Pact

July 12, Buenos Aires

1. Chile will supply Argentina with all the nitrate the latter requires and maintain a stock of 15,000 tons in Argentina.

176:47 U. S.-Turkish Aid Pact

July 12, Ankara

1. One hundred million dollars U.S. assistance to be granted to Turkey to be used largely for military supplies, such as modern equipment and construction materials for roads and airfields.

177:47 Bulgaria-U.S.S.R. Pact

July 13, Sofia

1. $87,000,000 import-export agreement to cover 1947-1948.

2. U.S.S.R. extended credits to Bulgaria payable over several years.

178:47 U. S.-Russian Exchanges on Drafting Japanese Treaty

July 16, Washington

1. Sent to 10 governments represented on Far Eastern Commission, asking a conference as soon as practicable, to be made up of the 11 members of the Commission, to be held outside the framework of the Commission, providing for 2/3 majority decision and no use of the veto. Other nations involved, chiefly from Latin America and the Middle East to be invited when draft sufficiently evolved.

July 23, Moscow

1. Soviet Government feels that U.S. invitation is not in accordance with agreements made in Cairo, Yalta and Potsdam, and considers such a conference unwarranted outside the Far Eastern Commission, and without a preliminary conference of the Council of Foreign Ministers, expressly formed for this purpose. Suggests that representatives of Big Four get together to suggest a date agreeable to all for the convocation of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

Note: U.S. views Soviet reply as counterproposal, not rejection.

179:47 Spanish-Swedish Trade Pact

July 17 Madrid

1. Exchange of 40.000.000 crowns ($11,000,000) goods during year ending March 1, 1948. Spain will supply fruits, chemicals and textiles, and Sweden, wood pulp, machinery and electrical equipment.

180:47 Italy Receives Bargain Rates on U. S. Surplus Goods

July 21 Rome

1. $184,000,000 goods to be sold to Italian government for $18,000,000.

181:47 U. S. Protests Oil Equipment Removal

July 21, Washington

1. Protest concerns Soviet refusal to pay for 7,000 tons of oil equipment owned by Rumanian subsidiary of Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, valued at $1,000,000, and removed by the U.S.S.R. in 1944.

182:47 Austrian-Polish Coal Pact

July 22, Vienna

1. 85,000 tons to be delivered by Poland monthly.

2. To be financed from following sources: $4,000,000 from American occupation pay-as-you-go dollars, wages of Austrian prisoners of war paid in dollars to the Austrian government, $4,000.000 post-UNRRA relief voted by U.S. Congress and $5,000,000 in Austrian goods.

183:47 French-Argentine Trade Pact

July 23, Paris

1. Five-year commercial treaty. Argentina to lend 500,000,000 pesos ($148,380,000).

2. France to purchase cereals, meat, hides, wool and vegetables. France to sell automobiles, trucks, luxury goods, textiles, chemical products, machines and metal products.

3. France to pay out of favorable balance of trade with Argentina.

on the state of affairs in the province from which he came. Lo wrote an honest report, which came to the notice of Gen. Ma Hung-kwei's private secretary, who was also attending the Institute. For seven years thereafter Lo was forced to remain outside of Ninghsia, while all 11 members of his family in Ninghsia were imprisoned.

When the National Assembly was about to meet, Lo came to Nanking as one of the 12 Ninghsia delegates. In an urgent telegram, Gen. Ma Hung-kwei informed the Central Government that Lo had once visited Yenan, the Chinese Communist capital. Lo was then deprived of his rights as a National Assembly delegate, but after a personal appeal to President Chiang Kai-shek, together with evidence of his loyalty to the Kuomintang, he was restored to his former status. Nevertheless, he was arrested three days after the closing of the National Assembly, and imprisoned in Nanking. According to current report, the Nanking District Court made this arrest on instructions from the Higher Court in Ninghsia. Apparently, in the eyes of Gen. Ma, going to Yenan constitutes "disturbances against the security of the State," and reporting the truth about the provincial administration constitutes "a defamation of Gen. Ma Hung-kwei."

Feudalism in Chinghai

Gen. Ma Pu-hsiang of Chinghai has also been a governor for more than 10 years. His record of administration is precisely the same as the other three governors in that "Government officials are too rich while the people in the province are impoverished." This governor now owns 60 per cent of all properties in the whole province!

Visitors to Sining, Chinghai's capital city, may see a few modern-style buildings, but if they ask who are the occupants, the answer is a flat "government officials only." One hydro-electric power plant completed in October, 1946, is now supplying light only for government buildings and officials' residences and big merchants' houses, while the people in the slums cannot afford even to burn vegetable oil at night. Visitors may also see the Wang Chung Trading Company, Kung Lang Hotel, Wang Chung Building and Wang Kwang Movie Theater. But if they compare these with the many shelters and huts along the narrow roads, they will get the impression that Chinghai is living in two different centuries—government officials and big merchants in the 20th, the masses still in the 16th or 17th.

The Wang Chung Trading Company is really Gen. Ma Pu-hsiang's private company — a monopolistic organ which controls all economic activities in the province, It buys hides, herbal medicine, lumber, foods, salt and other products from the people at low prices and exports them at far higher prices.

Outside visitors and merchants are not very welcome in Chinghai. Those who come to investigate are liable to be put under surveillance or reported "missing."

Today, in the name of 14 *hsien*, 29 Mongolian Leagues, 46 peoples in the Yuchu district, 71 peoples in the Kwanhaiho district and another two million Chinese, Mongolians and Tibetans in Chinghai, the people are demanding the dismissal and punishment of Gen. Ma Pu-hsiang because he is "a militarist of the feudalist type who owns and maintains private armies . . . who owns a large portion of the province's wealth . . . who monopolizes the economic activities in the province, etc."

The Four Dictators

Every one of the four provincial governors I have thus briefly described is now virtually a dictator. Every one of them always blocks the entry of the Central Government army and officials to his province, and instead does whatever he can to keep his own position secure. When the Chinese communists began famous "Long March" in 1934 were threatening to cross the Y River toward Shansi, Pres Chiang Kai-shek is said to have Gen. Yen Hsi-shan offering to the central army to his rescue. this offer was rejected. The Ge was just as fearful of the ent the central army as of the comm army.

Similarly, during the recent years, the Central Government reported to have instructed Gen Wen-hui, governor of Sikang, to his 24th Division to the front. he also refused, on the ground "this border province needs an to defend itself."

Shansi is traditionally a stra province in North China, while Far West provinces of Sikang, N hsia and Chinghai, with their tribal populations, have often the scene of racial conflicts. tragedy is that these important p inces have been governed for by incompetent and corrupt g nors of a medieval type. It is equ deplorable that the policy of the tral Government has always bee sentially one of preserving the *s quo*.

To support—and rely upon— governors because of the "p ace" of Chinese communists is s childishness, and decidedly a p cal blunder, since the existenc such corrupt and feudalistic *rég* offers the very chance for the in of communism which the Chi communists have been looking One of the cardinal principles o Chiang Kai-shek Administration ing this postwar period should h move with the trend of the times wipe out every remnant of Chi feudalism and official corruption augurating at the earliest pos date a clean and representative ernment, with enlightened adm stration in the provinces and p sion for social security for masses. That is the direction C must go—the only way out of present predicament.